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BISHOP BURNET's

HISTORY

OF

His Own Time.

FROM THE

RESTORATION of King CHARLES II.

TO THE

CONCLUSION of the TREATY of PEACE at UTRECHT, in the Reign of Queen ANNE.

To which is prefixed,

A SUMMARY RECAPITULATION of Affairs in Church and State, from King JAMES I. to the RESTORATION in the Year 1660.

Together with

The AUTHOR's LIFE, by the EDITOR. And some EXPLANATORY NOTES. The whole revised and corrected by him.

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THE

HISTORY

OF

My Own Times.

THE Duke of Marlborough had a great domeſtick affliction at this time: He loſt his only Son, a graceful perſon, and a very promiſing youth: He died at Cambridge of the Small-Pox: This, as may be imagined, went very deep in his Father's heart, and ſtopt his paſſing the Seas ſome days longer than he had intended. Upon his arrival on the other ſide, the Dutch brought their Armies into the Field: The firſt thing they undertook, was the Siege of Bonne. In the mean while, all mens eyes were turned towards Bavaria: The Court of Vienna had given it out, all the former winter, that they would bring ſuch a force upon that Elector, as would quickly put an end to that war, and ſeize his whole country. But the ſlowneſs of that Court appeared on this, as it had done on many other occaſions: For tho' they

1703. Preparations for the Campaign.

1703. brought two armies into the field, yet they were not able to deal with the Elector's forces; Villars, who lay with his army at Straſbourg, had orders to break thro' and join the Elector: So he was to force his way to him, at all adventures. He paſſed the Rhine, and ſet down before Fort Keil, which lay over againſt Straſbourg, and took it in a few days. Prince Lewis was in no condition to raiſe the ſiege; for the beſt part of his army was called away to the war in Bavaria: He therefore poſted himſelf advantageouſly at Stollhoffen, yet he could not have maintained it, if the States had not ſent him a good body of foot, which came ſeaſonably, a few days before Mareſchal Villars attack'd him with an Army, that was more than double his number: But his men, chiefly the Dutch battalions, received them with ſo much courage, that the French were forced to quit the attack, after they had loſt about four thouſand men in it. Yet, upon repeated orders from France, Mareſchal Villars reſolved to venture the loſs of his whole army, rather than abandon the Elector; who, tho' he had taken Newburg, and had ſurprized Ratiſbon, and had ſeveral advantages in little engagements with the Imperialiſts, yet was like to be over-powered by a ſuperior force, if he was not relieved in time. The Black Foreſt was thought impracticable in that ſeaſon, which was a very wet one: This was too much truſted to, ſo that the paſſes were ill looked after: and therefore Villars overcame all difficulties, and joined the Elector: but his troops were ſo haraſſed with the march, that he was obliged to put them, for ſome time, into quarters of refreſhment.

Bonne taken. The Duke of Marlborough carried on the ſiege of Bonne with ſuch vigour, that they capitulated within ten days after the trenches were opened: The French reckoned upon a longer reſiſtance, and hoped to have diverted this by an attempt upon Liege. The States had a ſmall army about Maſtricht,

tricht, which the French intended to fall upon, being much ſuperior to it: But they found the Dutch in ſo good order, and ſo well poſted, that they retired within their lines, as ſoon as they ſaw the Duke of Marlborough, after the ſiege of Bonne, was marching towards them. The winter had produced very little action in Italy: The country was under another very heavy plague, by a continued ſucceſſion of threatning, and of ſome very devouring earthquakes: Rome itſelf had a ſhare in the common calamity; but it proved to them more dreadful, than it was miſchievous. Prince Eugene found that his letters, and the moſt preſſing repreſentations he could ſend to the Court of Vienna, had no effect: ſo at laſt he obtained leave to go thither. 1703. Earthquakes in Italy.

The motions of the Dutch Army made it believed, there was a deſign on Antwerp: Cohorn was making advances in the Dutch Flanders, and Opdam commanded a ſmall army on the other ſide of the Scheld, while the Duke of Marlborough lay with the main army, near the lines in Brabant. Bouflers was detached from Villeroy's army, with a body, double in number to Opdam's, to fall on him; he marched ſo quick, that the Dutch, being ſurprized at Eckeren, were put in great diſorder, and Opdam, apprehending all was loſt, fled with a body of his men to Breda: But the Dutch rallied, and maintained their ground with ſuch firmneſs, that the French retired, little to their honour; ſince tho' they were much ſuperior in number, yet they let the Dutch recover out of their firſt confuſion, and keep their ground, although forſaken by their General, who juſtified himſelf in the beſt manner he could, and caſt the blame on others. The battle of Eckeren.

Bouflers's conduct was ſo much cenſured, that it was thought this finiſhed his diſgrace; for he was no more put at the head of the French Armies: Nor was the Duke of Marlborough without ſome

1703. ſhare of cenſure on this occaſion, ſince it was pretended, that he ought to have ſent a force to ſupport Opdam, or have made an attempt on Villeroy's army, when it was weakened by the detachment ſent with Bouflers.

Huy, Limbourg and Guelder, with all the Coudras taken.

The French lines were judged to be ſo ſtrong, that the forcing them ſeemed impracticable, ſo the Duke of Marlborough turned towards Huy, which was ſoon taken; and after that to Limbourg, which he took with no loſs, but that of ſo much time, as was neceſſary to bring up a train of artillery: And as ſoon as that was done, the garriſon were made priſoners of war, for they were in no condition to maintain a ſiege. Guelder was alſo blockt up, ſo that before the end of the campaign, it was brought to capitulate. Thus the Lower Rhine was ſecured, and all that country, called the Coudras, was intirely reduced: This was all that our troops, in conjunction with the Dutch, could do in Flanders: We had the ſuperior army, but what by reaſon of the cautious maxims of the States, what by reaſon of the Factions among them (which were riſing very high, between thoſe, who had been of the late King's party, and were now for having a Captain General, and thoſe of the Loveſtein party, who were for governing all by a deputation from the States) no great deſign could be undertaken by an army ſo much diſtracted.

The ſucceſs of the French on the Danube.

In the Upper Rhine, matters went much worſe; Villars lay for ſome time on the Danube, while the Elector of Bavaria marched into Tirol, and poſſeſſed himſelf of Inſpruck: The Emperor's force was ſo broken into many ſmall armies, in different places, that he had not one good army any where: he had none at all in Tirol: and all that the Prince of Baden could do, was to watch Villars's motions: but he did not venture on attacking him, during this ſeparation. Many blamed his conduct: ſome called his courage, and others his fidelity in queſtion; while many excuſed him, ſince his army

was

was both weak, and ill furniſhed in all reſpects. 1703.
The Duke of Vendome had orders to march from the Milaneze to Tirol, there to join the Elector of Bavaria: upon which junction, the ruin of the houſe of Auſtria would have probably followed: But the Boors in Tirol roſe, and attacked the Elector with ſo much reſolution, that he was forced to retire out of the country, with conſiderable loſs, and was driven out before the Duke of Vendome could join him, ſo that he came too late: He ſeemed to have a deſign on Trent, but the Boors were now ſo animated with their ſucceſſes, and were ſo conducted and ſupported by officers and troops ſent them by the Emperor, that Vendome was forced to return back, without being able to effect any thing.

Nothing paſſed this ſummer in Italy: The Imperialiſts were too weak, and too ill ſupplied from Germany, to be able to act offenſively: and the miſcarriage of the deſign upon Tirol, loſt the French ſo much time, that they undertook nothing, unleſs it were the ſiege of Oſtiglia, in which they failed. Berſello, after a long blockade, was forced to capitulate, and by that means, the French poſſeſſed themſelves of the Duke of Modena's country: The Duke of Burgundy came to Alſace, and ſate down before Briſack, of which he was ſoon maſter, by the cowardice or treachery of thoſe who commanded, for which they were condemned by a council of war. Little done in Italy.

The Emperor's misfortunes grew upon him; Cardinal Calonitz and Eſterhaſi had the government of Hungary truſted chiefly to them: The former was ſo cruel, and the other ſo ravenous, that the Hungarians took advantage from this diſtraction in the Emperor's affairs, to run together in great bodies, and in many places, ſetting Prince Ragotſki at their head. They demanded, that their grievances ſhould be redreſſed, and that their privileges ſhould be reſtored: They were much animated in this, by the practices of the French, A war begun in Hungary.

1703. and the Elector of Bavaria's agents: Some small assistance was sent them by the way of Poland; They were encouraged to enter upon no treaty, but to unite and fortify themselves; assurances being given them, that no Peace should be concluded, unless they were fully restored to all their antient liberties.

Disorders in the Emperor's court.

The Court of Vienna was much alarmed at this; fearing it might be secretly set on by the Turks: tho' that Court gave all possible assurances, that they would maintain the peace of Carlowitz most religiously, and that they would in no sort encourage or assist the malecontents. A revolution happening in that Empire, in which a new Sultan was set up, raised new apprehensions of a breach on that side: But the Sultan renewed the assurances of maintaining the Peace so solemnly, that all those fears were soon dissipated. There was a great faction in the Emperor's court, and among his ministers; and it did not appear, that he had strength of genius enough to govern them. Count Mansfield was much suspected of being in the interests of France; The Prince of Baden, and Prince Eugene, both agreed in charging his conduct, tho' they differed almost in every thing else: yet he was so possessed of the Emperor's favour and confidence, that it was not easy to get him set aside: In conclusion, he was advanced to a high Post in the Emperor's household, and Prince Eugene was made President of the Council of War.

Augsbourg and Landaw taken by the French.

But what effect soever this might have in succeeding campaigns, it was then too late in the year to find remedies for the present disorders: and all affairs on the south of the Danube were falling into great confusion. Things went a little better on the north side of that river: The Upper Palatinate was entirely conquered; but near the end of the year, Augsbourg was forced to submit to the Elector of Bavaria, and Landaw was besieged by the French: Tallard, who commanded the siege, took it in

fewer weeks, than it had coſt the Germans months, to take it in the former year: Nor was this all, an army of the confederates was brought together to raiſe the ſiege: The young Prince of Heſſe commanded, but the Prince of Naſſaw Welburg, as a man of more experience in war, was chiefly depended on; tho' his conduct ſhewed how little he deſerved it. The Emperor's birth-day was a day of diverſion, and the German Generals, then at Spire, allowed themſelves all the idle liberties, uſed in courts on ſuch days, without the ordinary precaution, of having Scouts or Parties abroad, in the ſame careleſs ſtate, as if no enemy had been near them. Tallard, having intelligence of this, left a party of his army to make a ſhew, and maintain the Works before Landaw; and marched with his beſt troops againſt the Germans: He ſurprized and routed them; upon which Landaw capitulated: with this the warlike operations of this campaign ended, very glorioufly, and with great advantage to the French. 1703.

A treaty with the King of Portugal.

But two great negotiations, then brought to a concluſion, very much changed the face of affairs: All the confederates preſſed the King of Portugal to come into the alliance, as his own intereſt led him to it; ſince it was viſible, that as ſoon as Spain was once united to the Crown of France, he could not hope to continue long in Portugal. The Almirante of Caſtile was believed to be in the intereſts of the Houſe of Auſtria; therefore to ſend him out of the way, he was appointed to go Ambaſſador to France: He ſeemed to undertake it, and made the neceſſary preparations: He ſaw this Embaſſy was intended for an exile, and that it put him in the power of his enemies: So, after he had raiſed what was neceſſary to defray his expence, he ſecretly changed his courſe, and eſcaped with the wealth he had in his hands to Liſbon; where he entered into ſecret negotiations with the King of Portugal, and the Emperor: He gave great aſ-

1703. ſurances of the good diſpoſitions, in which both the people and Grandees of Spain were, who were grown ſick of their new maſters. The riſque he himſelf ran, ſeemed a very full credential: He aſſured them, the new King was deſpiſed, and that the French about him were univerſally hated; the Spaniards could not bear the being made a Province, either to France or to the Emperor.

He therefore propoſed that the Emperor and the King of the Romans ſhould renounce all their pretenſions, and transfer them to the Archduke, and declare him King of Spain; and that he ſhould be immediately ſent thither; for he aſſured them, the Spaniards would not revolt from a King that was in poſſeſſion, till they ſaw another King, who claimed his right: and in that caſe, they would think they had a right to adhere to the King they liked beſt: The King of Portugal likewiſe demanded an enlargement of his frontiers, and ſome new acceſſions to his crown, which were reaſonable, but could not be ſtipulated, but by a King of Spain.

In the treaty, that the Emperor had made with the late King, and with the States, one article was, that they ſhould be at liberty to poſſeſs themſelves of the dominions, which the Crown of Spain had in the Weſt-Indies, and he veſted in them the right, that their arms ſhould give them, in theſe acquiſitions; upon which the King had deſigned to ſend a great fleet, with a land army, into the bay of Mexico, to ſeize ſome important places there, with a deſign of reſtoring them to the Crown of Spain, upon advantageous articles for a free trade, as ſoon as the Spaniards ſhould receive a King of the Houſe of Auſtria. This deſign was now laid aſide, and the reaſon that the Miniſters gave for it, was, that the Almirante had aſſured them, that if we poſſeſſed our ſelves of any of their places in the Weſt-Indies, the whole nation would by that means become entirely French; they would never believe our promiſes of reſtoring them; and ſeeing they

had no naval power of their own to recover them, they would go into the French intereſt very cordially, as the only way left to recover theſe places. 1703.

An entire credit was given to the Almirante; ſo the Queen and the States agreed to ſend over a great fleet, with a land army of twelve thouſand men, together with a great ſupply of money and arms to Portugal; that King undertaking to have an army of twenty eight thouſand men ready to join ours. In this treaty an incident happened, that had almoſt ſpoiled the whole; the King of Portugal inſiſted on demanding the flag, and the other reſpects to be paid by our Admiral, when he was in his ports: The Earl of Nottingham inſiſted, it was a diſhonour to England to ſtrike, even in another King's ports; this was not demanded of the fleet, that was ſent to bring over Queen Katharine, ſo, tho' Methuen our Ambaſſador had agreed to this article, he preſſed the Queen not to ratify it.

Methuen, in his own juſtification, ſaid, he conſented to the article, becauſe he ſaw it was inſiſted on ſo much, that no treaty could be concluded, unleſs that point were yielded: The low ſtate of their affairs, in the year 1662, when the protection of England was all they had in view, for their preſervation, made ſuch a difference between that and the preſent time, that the one was not to be ſet up for a precedent to govern the other: beſides, even then the matter was much conteſted in their Councils, tho' the extremities, to which they were reduced, made them yield it. The Lord Godolphin looked on this as too inconſiderable to be inſiſted on, the whole affairs of Europe ſeemed to turn upon this treaty, and ſo important a matter ought not to be retarded a day for ſuch punctilio's, as a ſalute or ſtriking the flag: and it ſeemed reaſonable, that every Sovereign Prince ſhould claim this acknowledgment, unleſs where it was otherwiſe ſtipulated by expreſs treaties. The laying ſo much weight

1703. weight on ſuch matters, very much heightened jealouſies; and it was ſaid, that the Earl of Nottingham and the Tories ſeemed to lay hold on every thing that could obſtruct the progreſs of the war; while the round proceeding of the Lord Godolphin reconciled many to him. The Queen confirmed the treaty; upon which, the Court of Vienna was deſired to do their part. But that Court proceeded with its ordinary ſlowneſs; the mildeſt cenſure paſt on theſe delays was, that they proceeded from an unreaſonable affectation of magnificence in the ceremonial, which could not be performed ſoon nor eaſily, in a poor but a haughty Court: It was done at laſt, but ſo late in the year, that the new declared King of Spain could not reach Holland before the end of October. A ſquadron of our fleet was lying there, to bring him over; ſuch as was wont to convoy the late King, when he croſſed the ſeas. But the Miniſters of the King of Spain thought it was not ſtrong enough; they pretended, they had advertiſements, that the French had a ſtronger ſquadron in Dunkirk, which might be ſent out to intercept him: ſo an additional ſtrength was ſent; this loſt ſome time, and a fair wind.

The great wind in November.

It had like to have been more fatal; for about the end of November the weather grew very boiſterous, and broke out on the 27th of November, in the moſt violent ſtorm, both by ſea and land, that had been known in the memory of man: The city of London was ſo ſhaken with it, that people were generally afraid of being buried in the ruins of their houſes: Some houſes fell and cruſhed their maſters to death: great hurt was done in the ſouthern parts of England; little happening in the North, where the ſtorm was not ſo violent. There was a great fall of trees, chiefly of elms, that were blown down by the wind. We had, at that time, the beſt part of our naval force upon the ſea: which filled all people with great apprehenſions of an irreparable

reparable loſs; and indeed, if the ſtorm had not been at its height at full flood, and in a ſpring tide, the loſs might have proved fatal to the nation. It was ſo conſiderable, that fourteen or fifteen men of war were caſt away, in which 1500 ſeamen periſhed; few merchantmen were loſt; ſuch as were driven to ſea were ſafe: ſome few only were over-ſet. Thus the moſt threatning danger, to which the nation could be expoſed, went off with little damage: we all ſaw our hazard, ſince the loſs of our fleet muſt have been the loſs of the nation. If this great hurricane had come at low water, or in a quarter tide, our ſhips muſt have been driven out upon the banks of ſand, that lie before the coaſt, and have ſtuck and periſhed there, as ſome of the men of war did: but the ſea being ſo full of water, all but ſome heavy ſhips got over theſe ſafe: Our ſquadron, which was then in the Maeſe, ſuffered but little, and the ſhips were ſoon refitted, and ready to ſail. 1703.

The new King of Spain came to England.

About the end of December the King of Spain landed at Portſmouth; the Duke of Somerſet was ſent by the Queen to receive him, and to bring him to an interview, which was to be at Windſor; Prince George went and met him on the way, and he was treated with great magnificence: The Court was very ſplendid, and much thronged; the Queen's behaviour towards him was very noble and obliging: The young King charmed all that were there; he had a gravity beyond his age, tempered with much modeſty; his behaviour was in all points ſo exact, that there was not a circumſtance, in his whole deportment, that was liable to cenſure: He paid an extraordinary reſpect to the Queen, and yet maintained a due greatneſs in it. He had an art of ſeeming well pleaſed with every thing, without ſo much as ſmiling once all the while he was at Court, which was only three days: He ſpoke but little, and all he ſaid was judicious and obliging. All poſſible haſte was made, in fitting

1703. ting out the fleet, ſo that he ſet ſail in the beginning of January, and for five days he had a fair wind with good weather, but then the wind changed, and he was driven back to Portſmouth: He lay there above three weeks, and then he had a very proſperous navigation. The forces, that were ordered to go over to his aſſiſtance, were by this time got ready to attend on him, ſo he ſailed with a great fleet, both of men of war and tranſport ſhips: He arrived happily at Liſbon, where he was received with all the outward expreſſions of joy and welcome, and at an expence, in a vain magnificence, which that Court could not well bear: but a national vanity prevailed to carry this too far, by which other things, that were more neceſſary, were neglected: That Court was then very melancholy; for the young Infanta, whom the King of Spain was to have married, as had been agreed, died a few days before his arrival.

He landed at Liſbon.

While this negotiation with Portugal was carried on, the Duke of Savoy began to ſee his own danger, if the two Crowns ſhould come to be united; and he ſaw, that if the King of France drove the Imperialiſts out of Italy, and became maſter of the Milaneze, he muſt lie expoſed, and at mercy: He had married his two daughters to the Duke of Burgundy, and to King Philip of Spain; but as he wrote to the Emperor, he was now to take care of himſelf and his ſon: His alliance with France was only for one year, which he had renewed from year to year, ſo he offered, at the end of the year, to enter into the great alliance; and he demanded for his ſhare, the Novarize and the Montferrat. His leaving the Allies, as he had done in the former war, ſhewed that he maintained the character of his family, of changing ſides, as often as he could expect better terms, by a new turn: yet his intereſt lay ſo viſibly now on the ſide of the Alliance, that it was very reaſonable to believe, he was reſolved to adhere firmly to it.

The Duke of Savoy came into the alliance.

So

So when the demands he made were laid before the Court of Vienna, and from thence tranſmitted to England and Holland, all the aſſiſtance, that he propoſed, was promiſed him: The Court of Vienna had no money to ſpare, but England and the States were to pay him twenty thouſand pounds a month, of which England was to pay him two thirds, and the States the reſt. 1703.

Since I am to relate the reſt of this tranſaction, I muſt look back, and give ſome account of his departing from the alliance in the former war, which I had from Monſieur Herval, who was then the King's Envoy in Switzerland, a French refugee, but originally of a German family of Augſbourg, ſettled but lately in France. In January 1696, when the plot for aſſaſſinating the King and invading the nation, was thought ſo ſurely laid, that it could not miſcarry; the King of France ſent Mr. Chanley very ſecretly to the Duke of Savoy, with a full credence to the propoſitions he was to make, demanding a poſitive anſwer within ſix hours: with that the Duke of Orleans wrote very warmly to him; he ſaid, he had imployed all his intereſt with the King his brother, to get theſe offers made to him, which he conjur'd him to accept of, otherwiſe he muſt look for utter ruin, without remedy or recovery. Chanley told him, that at that preſent time, he was to reckon that King James was repoſſeſſed of the throne of England, and that the Prince of Orange was either dead, or in his hands: ſo he offered to reſtore Cazal and Pigneroll, and all that was afterwards agreed to by the treaty, if he would depart from the alliance. The Duke of Savoy being thus alarmed with a revolution in England, and being ſo ſtraitned in time, thought the extreme neceſſity, to which he would be reduced, in caſe that was true, muſt juſtify his ſubmitting, when otherwiſe his ruin was unavoidable. The worſt part of this was, that he got leave to pretend to continue in the alliance, till he had drawn

The ſecret reaſons of his former departure from it.

1703. drawn all the ſupplies, he was to expect for that year from England and the States, and then the whole matter was owned, as has been related in the Tranſactions of that year. I leave this upon the credit of him from whom I had it, who aſſured me he was well informed concerning it.

The French diſcover his intentions, and make all his troops with them priſoners of war.

The Duke of Savoy, having now ſecretly agreed to enter into the alliance, did not declare it, but continued ſtill denying it to the French, that ſo when the Duke of Vendome ſent back his troops to him, at the end of the campaign, he might more ſafely own it. The French had reaſon to ſuſpect a ſecret negotiation, but could not penetrate into it, ſo they took an effectual, though a very fraudulent method to diſcover it, which was told me ſoon after by the Earl of Pembroke. They got the Elector of Bavaria to write to him, with all ſeeming ſincerity, and with great ſecrecy, for he ſent it to him by a ſubject of his own, ſo well diſguiſed and directed, that the Duke of Savoy was impoſed on by this management: In this letter, the Elector complained bitterly of the inſolence and perfidiouſneſs of the French, into whoſe hands he had put himſelf: He ſaid, he ſaw his error now, when it was too late to ſee how he could correct it; yet if the Duke of Savoy, who was almoſt in as bad a ſtate as himſelf, would join with him, ſo that they might act by concert, they might yet not only recover themſelves, but procure a happy peace for all the reſt of Europe. The Duke of Savoy, miſtruſting nothing, wrote him a frank anſwer, in which he owned his own deſigns, and encouraged the Elector to go on, and offered all offices of friendſhip on his behalf, with the reſt of the Allies. The French, who knew by what ways the Savoyard was to return, ſeized him, without ſo much as acquainting the Elector with the diſcovery, that they had made: they ſaw now into this ſecret; ſo when the time came, in which the Duke of Vendome ought to have ſent back his troops to him, they were made pri-

priſoners of war, contrary to all treaties: and with this the war began in thoſe parts. It was much apprehended that, conſidering the weak and naked ſtate in which the Duke of Savoy then was, the French would have quickly maſtered him; but Count Staremberg ventured on a march, which military men ſaid was the beſt laid, and the beſt executed of any in the whole war: He marched from the Modeneſe, in the worſt ſeaſon of the year, thro' ways that, by reaſon of the rains that had fallen, ſeemed impracticable, having in many places the French both before and behind him: He broke thro' all, and in concluſion joined the Duke of Savoy, with a good body of horſe. By this, he was render'd ſafe in Piedmont: It is true the French made themſelves quickly maſters of all Savoy, except Montmelian; where ſome ſmall Actions happen'd, much to the Duke's advantage. The Switzers interpoſed, to obtain a Neutrality for Savoy, though without effect.

1703.

Count Staremberg joined him.

The Riſing in the Cevennes had not been yet ſubdued, though Mareſchal Montravel was ſent with an army to reduce or deſtroy them: He committed great barbarities, not only on thoſe he found in arms, but on whole villages, becauſe they, as he was informed, favoured them: They came often down out of their hills in parties, ravaging the country, and they engaged the King's troops with much reſolution, and ſometimes with great advantage: They ſeemed reſolved to accept of nothing leſs, than the reſtoring their edicts to them; for a connivance at their own way of Worſhip was offered them: They had many among them, who ſeemed qualified in a very ſingular manner, to be the Teachers of the reſt; they had a great meaſure of zeal without any learning; they ſcarce had any education at all; I ſpoke with the perſon who, by the Queen's order, ſent one among them to know the ſtate of their affairs; I read ſome of the letters, which he brought from them, full of a ſublime zeal

The Inſurrection in the Cevennes.

1703. zeal and piety, expreſſing a courage and confidence that could not be daunted: One inſtance of this was, that they all agreed, that if any of them was ſo wounded, in an engagement with the enemy, that he could not be brought off, he ſhould be ſhot dead, rather than be left alive to fall into the enemies hands; it was not poſſible then to form a judgment of that inſurrection, the reports about it were ſo various and uncertain, it being as much magnified by ſome, as it was undervalued by others: The whole number, that they could reckon on, was four thouſand men, but they had not arms and clothes for half that number, ſo they uſed theſe by turns, while the reſt were left at home, to follow their labour: They put the country all about them in a great fright, and to a vaſt expence; while no intelligence could be had of their deſigns, and they broke out in ſo many different places, that all who lay within their reach were in a perpetual agitation: It was a lamentable thing, that they lay ſo far within the country, that it was not poſſible to ſend ſupplies to them, unleſs the Duke of Savoy ſhould be in a condition to break into Dauphiny; and therefore advices were ſent them, to accept of ſuch terms as could be had, and to reſerve themſelves for better times.

The affairs of Poland.

In Poland the ſcene was more embroiled than ever; there was ſome appearance of Peace this ſummer, but it went off in winter: The old fierce Cardinal drew a Diet to Warſaw; there it was declared, that their King had broken all their laws: upon that they, by a formal ſentence, depoſed him, and declared the Throne vacant. This was done in concert with the King of Sweden, who lay with his army at ſome diſtance from them, in the neighbourhood of Dantzick, which alarmed the citizens very much: It was believed, that they deſigned to chooſe Sobieſki, the eldeſt ſon of the late King, who then lived at Breſlaw in Sileſia, and being in the Emperor's Dominions, he thought himſelf ſafer than

than he proved to be; the King of Poland retired into Saxony in ſome haſte, which made many conclude, that he reſolved to abandon Poland; but he laid another deſign, which was executed to his mind, tho' in the ſequel it proved not much to his advantage; Sobieſki and his brother were in a correſpondence with the party in Poland, that oppoſed the King, upon which they ought to have looked to their own ſecurity with more precaution: They, it ſeems, apprehended nothing where they then were, and ſo diverted themſelves at hunting, and otherwiſe in their uſual manner; upon this ſome, ſent by the King of Poland, took them both priſoners, and brought them to Dreſden, where they were ſafely kept; and all the remonſtrances that the Emperor could make, upon ſuch an act of hoſtility, had no effect. This for a while broke their meaſures at Warſaw; many forſook them, while the King of Sweden ſeemed implacable in his oppoſition to Auguſtus; whoſe chief confidence was in the Czar: It was ſuſpected, that the French had a management in this matter; ſince it was certain that, by the war in Poland, a great part of that force was diverted, which might otherwiſe have been engaged in the common cauſe of the great alliance. All the advices that we had from thence agreed in this, that the King of Sweden himſelf was in no underſtanding with the French, but it was viſible, that what he did, contributed not a little to ſerve their ends. This was the ſtate of affairs at land. 1703.

I turn next to another element; and to give an account of the operations at ſea, where things were ill deſigned, and worſe executed: The making Prince George our Lord High Admiral, proved in many inſtances very unhappy to the nation: Men of bad deſigns impoſed on him, he underſtood thoſe matters very little, and they ſhelter'd themſelves under his name, to which a great ſubmiſſion was paid; but the complaints roſe the higher for Affairs at ſea.

1703. that: Our main fleet was ready to go out in May, but the Dutch fleet was not yet come over; ſo Rook was ſent out, to alarm the coaſt of France; he linger'd long in port, pretending ill health; upon that Churchill was ſent to command the fleet; but Rook's health returned happily for him, or he thought fit to lay aſide that pretence, and went to ſea, where he continued a month; but in ſuch a ſtation, as if his deſign had been to keep far from meeting the French fleet, which ſailed out at that time; and to do the enemy no harm, not ſo much as to diſturb their quiet, by coming near their coaſt: at laſt he returned, without having attempted any thing.

A fleet ſent into the Mediterranean.

It was after this reſolved, to ſend a ſtrong fleet into the Mediterranean: It was near the end of June, before they were ready to ſail, and they had orders to come out of the Streights, by the end of September: Every thing was ſo ill laid in this expedition, as if it had been intended, that nothing ſhould be done by it, beſides the convoying our merchant ſhips; which did not require the fourth part of ſuch a force. Shovel was ſent to command; when he ſaw his inſtructions, he repreſented to the miniſtry, that nothing could be expected from this voyage: He was ordered to go, and he obeyed his orders: He got to Leghorn by the beginning of September. His arrival ſeemed to be of great conſequence, and the Allies began to take courage from it; but they were ſoon diſappointed of their hopes, when they underſtood, that by his orders he could only ſtay a few days there: Nor was it eaſy to imagine, what the deſign of ſo great an expedition could be, or why ſo much money was thrown away on ſuch a project, which made us deſpiſed by our enemies, while it provoked our friends; who might juſtly think, they could not depend upon ſuch an ally, who managed ſo great a force with ſo poor a conduct, as neither to hurt their enemies, nor protect their friends by it.

A ſqua-

A ſquadron was ſent to the Weſt-Indies, commanded by Graydon; a man brutal in his way, and not well affected to the preſent ſtate of affairs: The deſign was, to gather all the forces that we had, ſcattered up and down the plantations, and with that ſtrength to go and take Placentia, and ſo to drive the French out of the Newfoundland trade: but the ſecret of this was ſo ill kept, that it was commonly talked of, before he ſailed: The French had timely notice of it, and ſent a greater force to defend the place, than he could bring together to attack it. His orders were preſſing, in particular, that he ſhould not go out of his way, to purſue any of the enemy's ſhips, whom he might ſee: Theſe he obſerved ſo punctually, that when he ſaw a ſquadron of four French men of war ſailing towards Breſt, that were viſibly foul, and in no condition to make any reſiſtance, he ſent indeed one of his ſhips to view them, who engaged them, but Graydon gave the ſignal to call him off, upon which they got ſafe into Breſt. This was afterwards known to be Du Caſſe's ſquadron, who was bringing treaſure home from Cartagena, and other ports of the Weſt-Indies, reported to be four millions of pieces of eight: But tho' here was a good prey loſt, yet ſo careful was the Prince's council to excuſe every thing, done by ſuch a man, that they ordered an advertiſement to be put in the Gazette, to juſtify Graydon; in which it was ſaid, that purſuant to his orders, he had not engaged that fleet. The orders were indeed ſtrangely given, yet our Admirals had never thought themſelves ſo bound down to them, but that, upon great occaſions, they might make ſtretches; eſpecially where the advantage was viſible, as it was in this caſe: For ſince they were out of the way of new orders, and new occaſions might happen, which could not be known, when their orders were given, the nature of the ſervice ſeemed to give them a greater liberty, than was fit to be allowed in the land ſervice. When

1303. Another to the Weſt-Indies.

They returned without ſucceſs.

1703. he came to the plantations, he acted in so savage a manner, as if he had been sent rather to terrify, than to protect them: When he had drawn the forces together, that were in the plantations, he went to attack Placentia: But he found it to be so well defended, that he did not think fit so much as to make any attempt upon it: So this expedition ended very ingloriously, and many complaints of Graydon's conduct were sent after him.

Our fleets were ill victualled

There was also a great complaint thro' the whole fleet of their victualling; we lost many of our seamen, who, as was said, were poisoned by ill food; and tho' great complaints were made of the victuallers, before the fleet went out, yet there was not such care taken to look into it, as a matter of that consequence deserved: The merchants did also complain, that they were ill served with convoys, and so little care had been taken of the Newcastle fleet, that the price of coals rose very high: It was also said, that there was not a due care had of our seamen, that were taken by the privateers, many of them died by reason of their ill usage, while others, to deliver themselves from that, went into the French service. Thus all our marine affairs were much out of order, and these disorders were charged on those, who had the conduct of them; every thing was unprosperous, and that will always be laid heavily on those, who are in the management of affairs: It is certain that, in the beginning of this reign, all those who hated the late King and his Government, or had been dismissed the service by him, were sought out, and invited into imployments: So it was not to be expected, that they could be faithful or cordial in the war against France.

The affairs of Scotland.

The affairs of Scotland come next to be related: A new Parliament was called, and many were chosen to serve in it, who were believed to be in secret engagements with the court at St. Germains: The Lords, who had hitherto kept out of Parliament,

and

and were known to be Jacobites, came and qualified themſelves, by taking the oaths, to vote in Parliament: It was ſet up for a maxim, by the new Miniſtry, that all the Jacobites were to be invited home: So a proclamation was iſſued out, of a very great extent, indemnifying all perſons, for all treaſons committed before April laſt; without any limitation of time for their coming home, to accept of this grace, and without demanding any ſecurity of them for the future. The Duke of Queenſbury was ſent down the Queen's commiſſioner to the Parliament: This inflamed all thoſe who had formerly oppoſed him: They reſolved to oppoſe him ſtill in every thing, and the greater part of the Jacobites joined with them, but ſome of them were bought off, as was ſaid, by him: He, ſeeing ſo ſtrong an oppoſition formed againſt him, ſtudied to engage the Preſbyterian party to ſtick to him: And even the party that united againſt him, were ſo apprehenſive of the ſtrength of that intereſt, that they likewiſe ſtudied to court them, and were very careful not to give them any umbrage. By this, all the hopes of the epiſcopal party were loſt; and every thing relating to the church did not only continue in the ſame ſtate, in which it was during the former reign, but the Preſbyterians got a new law in their favour, which gave them as firm a ſettlement, and as full a ſecurity, as law could give; for an act paſſed, not only confirming the claim of rights, upon which the crown had been offered to the late King, one of its articles being againſt prelacy, and for a parity in the church, but it was declared high treaſon to endeavour any alteration of it. It had been often propoſed to the late King, to paſs this into an act, but he would never conſent to it: He ſaid, he had taken the Crown on the terms in that claim, and that therefore he would never make a breach on any part of it; but he would not bind his ſucceſſors, by making it a perpetual law. Thus a miniſtry, that carried all mat-

1703.

Preſbytery was confirmed.

1703. ters relating to the church to so great a heighth; yet, with other views, gave a fatal stroke to the episcopal interest in Scotland, to which the late King would never give way. The great debates in this session were concerning the succession of the crown, in case the Queen should die without issue. They resolved to give the preference to that debate, before they would consider the supplies; it was soon resolved that the successor to the crown after the Queen, should not be the same person that was King or Queen of England, unless the just rights of the nation should be declared in parliament, and fully settled in an independence upon English interests and councils. After this, they went to name particulars, which by some were carried so far, that those expedients were indeed the setting up a commonwealth, with the empty name of a King: For it was proposed, that the whole administration should be committed to a council, named by parliament, and that the legislature should be entirely in the parliament, by which no shadow of power was left with the crown, and it was merely a nominal thing: But the further entring upon expedients was laid aside for that time, only one act passed, that went a great way towards them: It was declared, that no succeeding King should have the power to engage the nation in a war, without consent of parliament. Another act of a strange nature past, allowing the importation of French goods, which, as was pretended, were to be imported, in the ships of a neutral state. The truth was, the revenue was so exhausted, that they had not enough to support the government, without such help: Those who desired to drink good wine, and all who were concerned in trade, ran into it; so it was carried, though with great opposition: The Jacobites also went into it, since it opened a free correspondence with France: It was certainly against the publick interest of the government, in opposition to which private interest will often prevail,

Debates concerning the succession to the crown.

vail. The court of St. Germains, perceiving ſuch a disjointing in Scotland, and ſo great an oppoſition made in parliament, was from thence encouraged to ſet all their emiſſaries in that kingdom at work, to engage both the chief of the nobility, and the ſeveral tribes in the Highlands, to be ready to appear for them. One Frazier had gone through the Highlands the former year, and from thence he went to France, where he pretended, he had authority from the Highlanders, to undertake to bring together a body of 12,000 men, if they might be aſſiſted by ſome force, together with officers, arms, ammunition, and money from France. After he had delivered this meſſage to the Queen at St. Germains, ſhe recommended him to the French miniſters; ſo he had ſome audiences of them. He propoſed that 5000 men ſhould be ſent from Dunkirk, to land near Dundee, with arms for 20000 men; and that 500 ſhould be ſent from Breſt, to ſeize on Fort William, which commanded the great paſs in the Highlands. The French hearkened to all this, but would not venture much upon ſlight grounds, ſo they ſent him back with ſome others, in whom they confided more, to ſee how much they might depend on, and what the ſtrength of the Highlanders was: They were alſo ordered, to try whether any of the great nobility of that kingdom would engage in the deſign. 1703. Practices from France.

When theſe came over, Frazier got himſelf ſecretly introduced to the Duke of Queenſbury, to whom he diſcovered all that had been already tranſacted: And he undertook to diſcover the whole correſpondence, between St. Germains and the Jacobites: He alſo named many of the Lords, who oppoſed him moſt in Parliament, and ſaid, they were already deeply engaged. The Duke of Queenſbury hearkened very willingly to all this, and he gave him a paſs to go thro' the Highlands again, where he found ſome were ſtill very forward, but others were more reſerved. At his return, he re- A diſcovery made of theſe.

1703. ſolved to go back to France, and promiſed to make a more entire diſcovery: He put one letter in the Duke of Queenſbury's hands, from the Queen at St. Germains, directed on the back (but by another hand) to the Marquis of Athol: The letter was writ, in ſuch general terms, that it might have been directed to any of the great nobility: And probably he, who was truſted with it, had power given him to direct it to any, to whom he found it would be moſt acceptable: For there was nothing in the letter, that was particular to any one perſon or family; it only mentioned the promiſes and aſſurances ſent to her by that Lord. This Frazier had been accuſed of a rape, committed on a ſiſter of the Lord Athol's, for which he was convicted and outlawed: So it might be ſuppoſed, that he, to be revenged of the Lord Athol, who had proſecuted him for that crime, might put his name on the back of that letter. It is certain, that the others who were more truſted, and were ſent over with him, avoided his company, ſo that he was not made acquainted with that proceeding. Frazier came up to London in winter, and had ſome meetings with the practiſing Jacobites about the town, to whom he diſcovered his negotiation: He continued ſtill to perſuade the Duke of Queenſbury of his fidelity to him: His name was not told the Queen, for when the Duke of Queenſbury wrote to her an account of the diſcovery, he added, that unleſs ſhe commanded it, he had promiſed not to name the perſon, for he was to go back to St. Germains, to compleat the diſcovery. The Queen did not aſk his name, but had more regard to what he ſaid, becauſe in the main it agreed with the intelligence, that her miniſters had from their ſpies at Paris. The Duke of Queenſbury procured a paſs for him to go to Holland, but by another name: For he opened no part of this matter to the Earl of Nottingham, who gave the paſs. The Jacobites in London ſuſpected Frazier's correſpondence with the Duke of Queenſ-

Queenſbury, and gave advertiſement to the Lord Athol, and by this means the whole matter broke out, as ſhall be told afterwards. What influence ſoever this, or any other practice might have in Scotland, it is certain the oppoſition in Parliament grew ſtill greater; and ſince the Duke of Queenſbury would not ſuffer them to proceed, in thoſe ſtrange limitations upon the Crown, that had been propoſed, though the Queen ordered him to paſs the other bills, they would give no ſupply; ſo that the pay of the army, with the charge of the government, was to run upon credit, and by this means matters there were like to come to extremities. A national humour of rendring themſelves a free and independent kingdom did ſo inflame them, that as they had a majority of ſeventy in parliament; they ſeemed capable of the moſt extravagant things, that could be ſuggeſted to them: The greateſt part of the miniſtry forſook the Duke of Queenſbury in Parliament; both the Earl of Seafield, Lord Chancellor, the Marquis of Athol, the Lord Privy-Seal, and Lord Tarbet, the Secretary of State, with all that depended on them, broke off from him: Yet upon the concluſion of the Seſſion, Athol was made a Duke, and Tarbet was made Earl of Cromarty, which looked like rewarding them for their oppoſition. Soon after that, the Queen reſolved to revive the Order of the Thiſtle, that had been raiſed by her father, but was let fall by the late King: It was to be carried in a green ribbon, as the George is in a blue, and the Glory was in the form of a St. Andrew's croſs, with a thiſtle in the middle. Argyle, Athol, Annandale, Orkney, and Seafield were the firſt that had it, the number being limited to twelve. And to ſuch a heighth did the diſorders in that kingdom riſe, that great ſkill and much ſecret practice ſeemed neceſſary to ſet matters right there: The averſion and jealouſy towards thoſe, who had been moſt active in the laſt reign, and the favour ſhewed

1703.

Reflections on the conduct of affairs to there.

1703. to thoſe, who were in King James's intereſts, had an appearance of bringing matters out of an exceſs, to a temper: And it was much magnified by thoſe, who intended to flatter the Queen, on deſign to ruin her. Tho' the ſame meaſures were taken in England, yet there was leſs danger in following them here than there: Errors might be ſooner obſerved, and eaſier corrected, where perſons are in view, and are watched in all their motions: but this might prove fatal at a greater diſtance, where it was more eaſy to deny or palliate things, with great aſſurance. The Duke of Queenſbury's engroſſing all things to himſelf, increaſed the diſguſt, at the credit he was in: He had begun a practice of drawing out the Seſſions of Parliament to an unuſual length; by which his appointments exhauſted ſo much of the revenue, that the reſt of the miniſters were not paid, and that will always create diſcontent: He truſted entirely to a few perſons, and his conduct was liable to juſt exceptions: Some of thoſe, who had the greateſt credit with him, were believed to be engaged in a foreign intereſt, and his paſſing, or rather promoting the act, that opened a correſpondence with France, was conſidered as a deſign, to ſettle a commerce there: And upon that, his fidelity or his capacity were much queſtioned.

The affairs of Ireland.

There were ſtill high diſcontents in Ireland, occaſioned by the behaviour of the truſtees there. The Duke of Ormond was the better received, when he went to that government, becauſe he came after the Earl of Rocheſter; till it appeared, that he was in all things governed by him; and that he purſued the meaſures which he had begun to take, of raiſing new diviſions in that kingdom: For, before that time, the only diviſion in Ireland was, that of Engliſh and Iriſh, Proteſtants and Papiſts: But of late an animoſity came to be raiſed there, like that we labour under in England, between Whig and Tory. The wiſer ſort of the Engliſh reſolved to oppoſe

oppoſe this all they could, and to proceed with temper and moderation: The Parliament there was opened with ſpeeches and addreſſes, that carried the compliments to the Duke of Ormond ſo far, as if no other perſon beſides himſelf could have given them that ſettlement, which they expected from his government. The truſtees had raiſed a ſcandal upon that nation, as if they deſigned to ſet up an independence upon England: ſo they began the ſeſſion with a vote, diſclaiming that as falſe and injurious. They expreſſed on all occaſions their hatred of the truſtees and of their proceedings, yet they would not preſume to meddle with any thing they had done, purſuant to the act, that had paſſed in England, which veſted the truſt in them. They offered the neceſſary ſupplies, but took exceptions to the accounts, that were laid before them, and obſerved ſome errors in them. This begat an uneaſineſs in the Duke of Ormond; for tho' he was generous, and above all ſordid practices, yet being a man of pleaſure, he was much in the power of thoſe, who acted under him, and whoſe integrity was not ſo clear. One great deſign of the wiſer among them was, to break the power of popery, and the intereſt, that the heads of the Iriſh families had among them: They enacted the ſucceſſion of the crown, to follow the pattern ſet them by England, in every particular: They alſo paſſed an act concerning Papiſts, ſomewhat like that which had paſſed in England three years before; but with ſome more effectual clauſes, for the want of which, we have not yet had any fruit from our act: The main difference was that, which made it look leſs invidious, and yet was more effectual, for breaking the dependence on the heads of families: For it was provided, that all eſtates ſhould be equally divided among the children of Papiſts, notwithſtanding any ſettlements to the contrary, unleſs the perſons, on whom they were ſettled, qualified themſelves by taking the oaths, and coming to the communion of

1703.

An act paſſed there againſt Popery.

1703. of the church: This ſeemed to carry no hardſhip to the family in general, and yet gave hopes of weakning that intereſt ſo conſiderably, that the bill was offered to the Duke of Ormond, preſſing him, with more than uſual vehemence, to intercede ſo effectually, that it might be returned back under the great ſeal of England. They underſtood, that the Papiſts of Ireland had raiſed a conſiderable ſum, to be ſent over to England, to ſupport their practices, in order to the ſtopping this bill: It came over, warmly recommended by the Duke of Ormond: But it was as warmly oppoſed by thoſe, who had a mind to have a ſhare in the preſents, that were ready to be made. The pretence for oppoſing it was, that while the Queen was ſo deeply engaged with the Emperor, and was interceding for favour to the Proteſtants in his dominions; it ſeemed not ſeaſonable, and was ſcarce decent, to paſs ſo ſevere a law againſt thoſe of his religion: Tho' this had the leſs ſtrength, ſince it was very evident, that all the Iriſh Papiſts were in the French intereſt, ſo there was no reaſon to apprehend that the Emperor could be much concerned for them. The Parliament of England was ſitting when this bill came over, and mens eyes were much ſet on the iſſue of it: So that the miniſters judged it was not ſafe to deny it: But a clauſe was added, which they hoped would hinder its being accepted in Ireland. That matter was carried on ſo ſecretly, that it was known to none, but thoſe who were at the council, till the news of it came from Ireland, upon its being ſent thither: The clauſe was to this purpoſe, that none in Ireland ſhould be capable of any employment, or of being in the magiſtracy in any city, who did not qualify themſelves by receiving the ſacrament, according to the teſt-act paſſed in England; which before this time had never been offered to the Iriſh nation. It was hoped by thoſe, who got this clauſe to be added to the bill, that thoſe in Ireland who promoted it moſt, would

now

now be the leſs fond of it, when it had ſuch a weight hung to it: The greateſt part of Ulſter was poſſeſſed by the Scotch, who adhered ſtiffly to their firſt education in Scotland: And they were ſo united in that way, that it was believed they could not find ſuch a number of men, who would qualify themſelves, as was neceſſary by this clauſe, to maintain the order and juſtice of the country. Yet upon this occaſion the Iriſh parliament proceeded with great caution and wiſdom: They reckoned that this act, ſo far as it related to Papiſts, would have a certain and great effect, for their common ſecurity: And that when it was once paſſed, it would never be repealed: Whereas if great inconveniencies did ariſe upon this new clauſe, it would be an eaſier thing to obtain a repeal of it, in a ſubſequent parliament, either of England or Ireland. So the act was paſſed, and thoſe who thought they had managed the matter with a maſter-piece of cunning, were outwitted by an Iriſh parliament. However this artifice, and ſome other things in the Duke of Ormond's conduct, put them into ſuch an ill humour, that the ſupply bill was clogged and leſſened by many clauſes added to it. The ſeſſion ended in ſo much heat, that it was thought that parliament would meet no more, if the Duke of Ormond was continued in the government. 1703.

Jealouſies of the miniſtry.

Thus the parts of the government that were thought the moſt eaſily managed, Scotland and Ireland, had of late been put into ſo much diſorder, that it might prove no eaſy work to ſet them again in order: The government was every where going, as it were, out of joint: Its nerves and ſtrength ſeemed to be much ſlackened: The truſting and imploying, not only violent Tories, but even known Jacobites, as it brought a weakneſs on the management, ſo it raiſed a jealouſy, that could not be eaſily cured. Stories were confidently vented, and by ſome eaſily believed, that the Queen was convinced of the wrong done her pretended brother,

1703. ther, and that she was willing to put affairs in the hands of persons, who favoured his succession: It was also observed, that our court kept too cold civilities with the House of Hanover, and did nothing that was tender or cordial looking that way: Nor were any imployed, who had expressed a particular zeal for their interests. These things gave great jealousy: All that was said in excuse for trusting such persons, was, that it was fit once to try if good usage could soften them, and bring them entirely into the Queen's interests: And assurances were given, that, if upon a trial, the effect hoped for did not follow, they should be again dismissed.

This was the state of our affairs when a new session of parliament was opened in November: The Queen, in her speech expressed a great zeal, for carrying on the war, and with relation to the affairs of Europe: She recommended union and good agreement to all her people; she said she wanted words to express, how earnestly she desired this. This was understood, as an intimation of her desire, that there should be no further proceedings in the bill against occasional conformity: Addresses full of respect were made to the Queen, in return to her speech; and the Lords, in theirs, promised to avoid every thing, that should occasion dis-union or contention: But nothing could lay the heat of a party, which was wrought on by some, who had designs, that were to be denied or disguised, till a proper time for owning them should appear. A motion was made in the House of Commons, for bringing in the bill against occasional conformity: Great opposition was made to it; the court was against it, but it was carried by a great majority, that such a bill should be brought in. So a new draught was formeed: In it the preamble, that was in the former bill, was left out. The number besides the family, that made a conventicle, was enlarged from five to twelve: And the fine set on those, who went to conventicles, after they had re-

A bill against occasional conformity.

received the ſacrament, beſides the loſs of their employment, was brought down to fifty pound: Theſe were artifices, by which it was hoped, upon ſuch ſoftnings, once to carry the bill on any terms: And when that point was gained, it would be eaſy afterwards to carry other bills of greater ſeverity. There was now ſuch a diviſion upon this matter, that it was fairly debated in the Houſe of Commons: Whereas before, it went there with ſuch a torrent, that no oppoſition to it could be hearkened to. Thoſe who oppoſed the bill went chiefly upon this ground, that this bill put the diſſenters in a worſe condition than they were before: So it was a breach made upon the toleration, which ought not to be done, ſince they had not deſerved it by any ill behaviour of theirs, by which it could be pretended that they had forfeited any of the benefits, deſigned by that act: Things of this kind could have no effect, but to imbroil us with new diſtractions, and to diſguſt perſons well affected to the Queen and her government: It was neceſſary to continue the happy quiet, that we were now in, eſpecially in this time of war, in which even the ſevereſt of perſecutors made their ſtops, for fear of irritating ill humours too much. The old topicks of hypocriſy, and of the danger the church was in, were brought up again on behalf of the bill, and the bill paſſed in the Houſe of Commons by a great majority: And ſo it was ſent up to the Lords, where it occaſioned one debate of many hours, whether the bill ſhould be entertained and read a ſecond time, or be thrown out: The Prince appeared no more for it, nor did he come to the houſe upon this occaſion: Some who had voted for it, in the former ſeſſion, kept out of the houſe, and others owned they ſaw farther into the deſign of the bill, and ſo voted againſt it. Upon a diviſion it was carried, by a majority of twelve, not to give it a ſecond reading, but to reject it.

1703.

Paſſed by the Commons.

But rejected by the Lords.

1703. The Biſhops were almoſt equally divided: There were two more againſt it, than for it: Among theſe, I had the largeſt ſhare of cenſure on me, becauſe I ſpoke much againſt the bill: I knew how the act of teſt was carried, as has been already ſhewn in its proper place: I related that in the houſe, and the many practices of the Papiſts, of ſetting us of the Church againſt the Diſſenters, and the Diſſenters againſt us by turns, as it might ſerve their ends: I ventured to ſay, that a man might lawfully communicate with a church, that he thought had a worſhip and a doctrine uncorrupted, and yet communicate more frequently with a church, that he thought more perfect: I myſelf had communicated with the churches of Geneva and Holland; and yet at the ſame time communicated with the church of England: So, tho' the Diſſenters were in a miſtake, as to their opinion, which was the more perfect church, yet allowing them a toleration in that error, this practice might be juſtified. I was deſired to print what I ſaid upon that occaſion, which drew many virulent pamphlets upon me, but I anſwered none of them: I ſaw the Jacobites deſigned to raiſe ſuch a flame among us, as might make it ſcarce poſſible to carry on the war; thoſe who went not ſo deep, yet deſigned to make a breach on the toleration by gaining this point: And I was reſolved never to be ſilent, when that ſhould be brought into debate: For I have long looked on liberty of conſcience, as one of the rights of human nature, antecedent to ſociety, which no man could give up, becauſe it was not in his own power: And our Saviour's rule, of doing as we would be done by, ſeemed to be a very expreſs deciſion to all men, who would lay the matter home to their own conſcience, and judge as they would willingly be judged by others.

The clergy out of humour.

The clergy over England, who were generally inflamed with this matter, could hardly forgive the Queen and the Prince, the coldneſs that they expreſſed

preſſed on this occaſion: The Lord Godolphin did ſo poſitively declare, that he thought the bill unſeaſonable, and that he had done all he could, to hinder its being brought in, that tho' he voted to give the bill a ſecond reading, that did not reconcile the party to him: They ſet up the Earl of Rocheſter, as the only man to be depended on, who deſerved to be the chief Miniſter. 1703.

The Houſe of Commons gave all the ſupplies, that were neceſſary, for carrying on the war: Some tried to tack the bill againſt occaſional conformity to the bill of ſupply, but they had not ſtrength to carry it: The Commons ſhewed a very unuſual neglect of all that related to the Fleet, which was wont to be one of their chief cares: It was ſurmized, that they ſaw, that if they opened that door, diſcoveries would be made of errors that could neither be juſtified nor palliated, and that theſe muſt come home chiefly to their greateſt favourites; ſo they avoided all examinations, that would probably draw ſome cenſure on them. The Commons vote all the neceſſary ſupplies.

The Lords were not ſo tender: They found great fault with the counſels, chiefly with the ſending Shovell to the Mediterranean, and Graydon to the Weſt-Indies: And laid all the diſcoveries, that were made to them, with their own obſervations on them, before the Queen, in addreſſes that were very plain, tho' full of all due reſpect: They went on likewiſe, in their examinations of the outcry made of the waſte of the publick treaſure in the laſt reign; they examined the Earl of Orford's accounts, which amounted to ſeventeen millions, and upon which ſome obſervations had been made by the commiſſioners, for examining the publick accounts; they found them all to be falſe in fact, or ill grounded, and of no importance. Enquiries into the conduct of the fleet.

The only particular, that ſeemed to give a juſt colour to exception, was very ſtrictly examined: He had victualled the fleet, while they lay all winter at Cadiz: The purſers receipts for the quantity, The Earl of Orford's accounts juſtified.

1703. that was laid into every ſhip, were produced, but they had no receipts of the Spaniards, from whom they had bought the proviſions; but they had entred the prices of them in their own books, and theſe were given in upon oath. This matter had been much canvaſſed in the late King's time, and it ſtood thus: Ruſſel, now Earl of Orford, when he had been ordered to lie at Cadiz, wrote to the board of victualling, to ſend one over to provide the fleet; they anſwered, that their credit was then ſo low, that they could not undertake it: So he was deſired to do it upon his own credit. It appeared, that no fleet nor ſingle ſhip had ever been victualled ſo cheap, as the fleet was then by him: It was not the cuſtom in Spain to give receipts; but if any fraud had been intended, it would have been eaſy to have got the Spaniards, after they had their money, to have ſigned any receipts, that could have been offered them, for ſwelling up the accounts; for the practices of ſwelling accounts, in their dealings with their own court, were well known there. Upon theſe reaſons, the Lords of the treaſury had paſſed his accounts, and were of opinion that he had done a great ſervice to the government, in that whole tranſaction. The Houſe of Lords did now confirm this; and ordered an account of that whole matter to be printed.

The Commons made no progreſs in any diſcoveries of ill practices in the Earl of Ranelagh's office, but concluded that matter with an addreſs to the Queen, that ſhe would order a proſecution. This was an artifice to make the nation ſtill think, that great diſcoveries of corruption might be made, if carefully looked after: It was expected, after ſuch an outcry as they had made, and after the expence the nation was put to, for this commiſſion, and the extraordinary powers that were lodged with the commiſſioners, that at leaſt ſome important diſcoveries ſhould have been made by them.

1703.

The Commons ſent up a bill to the Lords, for continuing the commiſſion another year: It was obſerved that an alteration was made of the perſons; ſome who expected better places, got their names to be left out. The Lords excepted to one Bierly, who was named to be one of the commiſſioners; becauſe he had been a Colonel, and had not yet cleared the accounts of his own regiment: ſo they ſtruck out his name, and named another; and they added two more, who were not members of the Houſe of Commons. The reaſon of this was, becauſe the members of that Houſe would not appear before them, to explain ſome particulars; they only ſent their clerk, to inform them, and when the Lords ſent a meſſage to the Houſe of Commons, to deſire them to order their members to attend on their committee; all the return they had was, that they would ſend an anſwer, by meſſengers of their own: But this was illuſory, for they ſent no ſuch meſſage. So the Lords thought it neceſſary, in order to their being better informed, to put ſome in the commiſſion for the future, who ſhould be bound to attend upon them, as oft as they ſhould be called for. The Commons rejected theſe amendments; and pretended that this was of the nature of a money-bill, and that therefore the Lords could make no alterations in it. The meſſage, that the Commons ſent the Lords upon this head, came ſo near the end of the ſeſſion, that the Lords could not return an anſwer to it, with the reaſons for which they inſiſted on their amendments; ſo that bill fell.

A bill for examining the publick accounts loſt between the two Houſes.

The charge of this commiſſion amounted to eight thouſand pounds a-year; the commiſſioners made much noiſe, and brought many perſons before them to be examined, and gave great diſturbance to all the publick offices, what by their attendance on them, what by copying out all their books for their peruſal; and yet in a courſe of many years, they

1704. had not made any one diſcovery: So a full ſtop was put to this way of proceeding.

A diſpute concerning injuſtice in the elections of members of parliament.

An incident happened during this ſeſſion, which may have great conſequences, tho' in itſelf it might ſeem inconſiderable: There have been great complaints long made, and theſe have increaſed much within theſe few years, of great partiality and injuſtice in the elections of parliament-men, both by ſheriffs in counties, and by the returning officers in boroughs. In Ayleſbury, the return was made by four conſtables, and it was believed, that they made a bargain with ſome of the candidates, and then managed the matter, ſo as to be ſure, that the majority ſhould be for the perſon, to whom they had engaged themſelves; they canvaſſed about the town, to know how the voters were ſet, and they reſolved to find ſome pretence for diſabling thoſe, who were engaged to vote for other perſons than their friends, that they might be ſure to have the majority in their own hands. And when this matter came to be examined by the Houſe of Commons, they gave the election always for him who was reckoned of the party of the majority, in a manner ſo barefaced, that they were ſcarce out of countenance, when they were charged for injuſtices in judging elections. It was not eaſy to find a remedy to ſuch a crying abuſe, of which all ſides in their turns, as they happened to be depreſſed, had made great complaints; but when they came to be the majority, ſeemed to have forgot all, that they had formerly cried out on. Some few excuſed this, on the topick of retaliation; they ſaid, they dealt with others as they had dealt with them, or their friends. At laſt an action was brought againſt the conſtables of Ayleſbury, at the ſuit of one, who had been always admitted to vote in former elections, but was denied it in the laſt election. This was tried at the Aſſizes, and it was found there by the jury, that the conſtables had denied him a right, of which he was undoubtedly

in poſſeſſion, ſo they were to be caſt in Damages; but it was moved in the Queen's bench, to quaſh all the proceedings in that matter, ſince no action did lie or had ever been brought upon that account. Powel, Gould and Powis were of opinion, that no hurt was done the man; that the judging of elections belonged to the Houſe of Commons; that as this action was the firſt of its kind, ſo if it was allowed, it would bring on an infinity of ſuits, and put all the officers, concerned in that matter, upon great difficulties: Lord Chief Juſtice Holt, tho' alone, yet differed from the reſt; he thought this was a matter of the greateſt importance, both to the whole nation in general, and to every man in his own particular; he made a great difference betwen an election of a member, and a right to vote in ſuch an election; the Houſe of Commons were the only judges of the former, whether it was rightly managed or not, without bribery, fraud or violence; but the right of voting in an election, was an original right founded either on a freehold of forty ſhillings a-year in the county; or on burgageland, or upon a preſcription, or by charter, in a borough: Theſe were all legal Titles, and as ſuch were triable in a court of law. Acts of Parliament were made concerning them, and by reaſon of theſe, every thing relating to thoſe acts, was triable in a court of law; he ſpoke long and learnedly, and with ſome vehemence upon the ſubject; but he was one againſt three, ſo the order of the court went, in favour of the conſtables. The matter was upon that brought before the Houſe of Lords, by a writ of error; the caſe was very fully argued at the bar, and the judges were ordered to deliver their opinions upon it, which they did very copiouſly. 1704.

Chief Juſtice Trevor inſiſted much, on the authority that the Houſe of Commons had, to judge of all thoſe elections; from that he inferred, that they only could judge who were the electors:

1704. petitions were often grounded on this, that in the poll ſome were admitted to a vote, who had no right to it, and that others were denied it, who had a right; ſo that in ſome caſes they were the proper judges of this right: and if they had it in ſome caſes, they muſt have it in all. From this he inferred, that every thing relating to this matter was triable by them, and by them only; if two independent juriſdictions might have the ſame caſe brought before them, they might give contrary judgments in it; and this muſt breed great diſtraction, in the execution of thoſe judgments.

To all this it was anſwered, that a ſingle man, who was wronged in this matter, had no other remedy but by bringing it into a Court of Law; for the Houſe of Commons could not examine the right of every voter; if the man, for whom he would have voted, was returned, he could not be heard to complain to the Houſe of Commons, tho' in his own particular he was denied a vote, ſince he could not make any exceptions to the return; ſo he muſt bear his wrong, without a remedy, if he could not bring it into a Court of Law. A right of voting in an election was the greateſt of all the rights of an Engliſhman, ſince by that he was repreſented in Parliament; the Houſe of Commons could give no relief to a man wronged in this, nor any damages; they could only ſet aſide one, and admit of another return; but this was no redreſs to him, that ſuffered the wrong; it made him to be the leſs conſidered in his borough, and that might be a real damge to him in his trade: ſince this was a right inherent in a man, it ſeemed reaſonable that it ſhould be brought, where all other rights were tried, into a Court of Law; the abuſe was new, and was daily growing, and it was already ſwelled to a great heighth; when new diſorders happen, new actions muſt lie, otherwiſe there is a failure in juſtice, which all laws abhor; practices of this ſort were enormous and crying;

and

and if the judgment in the Queen's bench was affirmed, it would very much encreaſe theſe diſorders, by this indemnity, that ſeemed to be given to the officers, who took the poll. 1704.

After a long debate it was carried by a great majority to ſet aſide the order in the Queen's bench, and to give judgment according to the verdict given at the aſſizes. This gave great offence to the Houſe of Commons, who paſſed very high votes upon it, againſt the man of Ayleſbury, as guilty of a breach of their privileges, and againſt all others who ſhould for the future bring any ſuch ſuits into courts of law; and likewiſe againſt all Council, Attorneys and others, who ſhould aſſiſt in any ſuch ſuits; and they affirmed, that the whole matter relating to elections belonged only to them: yet they did not think fit to ſend for the man, who had ſued, or rather in whoſe name the ſuit was carried on; ſo they let the matter as to him fall, under a ſhew of moderation and pity, and let it reſt upon thoſe general votes. The Lords on their part ordered the whole ſtate of the caſe to be drawn up and printed, which was done with much learning and judgment; they alſo aſſerted the right, that all the people of England had, to ſeek for juſtice in courts of law, upon all ſuch occaſions; and that the Houſe of Commons, by their votes, ſtruck at the liberties of the people, at the law of England, and at the judicature of the Houſe of Lords; and they ordered the Lord Keeper to ſend a copy of the caſe, and of their votes to all the ſheriffs of England, to be communicated to all the boroughs in their counties. The Houſe of Commons was much provoked with this, but they could not hinder it; the thing was popular, and the Lords got great credit, by the judgment they gave, which let the people of England ſee, how they might be redreſſed for the future, if they ſhould meet with the injuſtice, partiality and other ill practices, that had appeared of late in elections, even

The Lords judge that the right of electing was triable at law.

1704. even beyond the examples of former times. This may prove a reſtraint on the officers, now that they ſee they are liable to be ſued, and that a vote of the Houſe of Commons cannot cover them.

The Queen gave the tenths and firſt-fruits for the benefit of the poor clergy.

During the ſeſſion and on her own birth-day, which was the ſixth of February, the Queen ſent a meſſage to the Houſe of Commons, ſignifying her purpoſe, to apply that branch of the revenue, that was raiſed out of the firſt-fruits and tenths, payed by the clergy, to the encreaſe of all the ſmall benefices in the nation: This branch was an impoſition, begun by the Popes, in the time of the holy wars, and it was raiſed as a fund to ſupport thoſe expeditions: But when taxes are once raiſed by ſuch an arbitrary power, as the Popes then aſſumed, and after there has been a ſubmiſſion, and the payments have been ſettled into a cuſtom, they are always continued, even after the pretence, upon which they were at firſt raiſed, ſubſiſts no more: So this became a ſtanding branch of the papal revenue, 'till Henry the eighth ſeemed reſolved to take it away: It was firſt aboliſhed for a year, probably to draw in the clergy, to conſent the more willingly to a change, that delivered them from ſuch heavy impoſitions: But in the ſucceeding ſeſſion of Parliament, this revenue was again ſettled as part of the income of the crown for ever. It is true, it was the more eaſily born, becauſe the rates were ſtill at the old value, which in ſome places was not the tenth, and in moſt not above the fifth part of the true value: And the clergy had been often threatned with a new valuation, in which the rates ſhould be rigorouſly ſet to their full extent.

The tenths amounted to about 11000 *l.* a-year, and the firſt-fruits, which were more caſual, roſe one year with another, to 5090 *l.* ſo the whole amounted to between ſixteen and ſeventeen thouſand pounds a-year: This was not brought into the treaſury, as the other branches of the revenue; but the Biſhops, who had been the Pope's collectors, were

were now the King's, ſo perſons in favour obtained 1704.
aſſignations on them, for life or for a term of years: This had never been applied to any good uſe, but was ſtill obtained by favourites, for themſelves and their friends: And in King Charles the ſecond's time, it went chiefly among his women and his natural children. It ſeemed ſtrange, that while the Clergy had much credit at court, they had never repreſented this as ſacrilege, unleſs it was applied to ſome religious purpoſe, and that during Archbiſhop Laud's favour with King Charles the firſt, or at the reſtauration of King Charles the ſecond, no endeavours had been uſed to appropriate this to better uſes: Sacrilege was charged on other things, on very ſlight grounds; but this, which was more viſible, was always forgot.

When I wrote the hiſtory of the reformation, I conſidered this matter ſo particularly, that I ſaw here was a proper fund, for providing better ſubſiſtence to the poor Clergy; we having among us ſome hundreds of cures, that have not of certain proviſion twenty pounds a-year; and ſome thouſands, that have not fifty: Where the encouragement is ſo ſmall, what can it be expected, Clergymen ſhould be? It it a crying ſcandal, that at the reſtauration of King Charles the ſecond, the biſhops and other dignitaries, who raiſed much above a million in fines, yet did ſo little this way: I had poſſeſſed the late Queen with this, ſo that ſhe was fully reſolved, if ever ſhe had lived to ſee peace and ſettlement, to have cleared this branch of the revenue, of all the aſſignations, that were upon it, and to have applied it to the augmentation of ſmall benefices. This is plainly inſinuated, in the eſſay that I wrote on her memory, ſome time after her death. I laid the matter before the late King, when there was a proſpect of peace, as a proper expreſſion both of his thankfulneſs to Almighty God, and of his care of the Church; I hoped that this might have gained the hearts of the clergy: It might

1703. might at leaſt have put a ſtop to a groundleſs clamour raiſed againſt him, that he was an enemy to the clergy, which began then to have a very ill effect on all his affairs. He entertained this ſo well, that he ordered me to ſpeak to his miniſters about it: They all approved it, the Lord Somers and the Lord Halifax did it, in a moſt particular manner: But the Earl of Sunderland obtained an aſſignation, upon two dioceſes, for two thouſand pound a-year for two lives; ſo nothing was to be hoped for after that. I laid this matter very fully before the preſent Queen, in the King's time, and had ſpoke often of it to the Lord Godolphin.

This time was perhaps choſen, to pacify the angry clergy, who were diſſatisfied with the court, and began now to talk of the danger the Church was in, as much as they had done during the former reign: This extraordinary mark of the Queen's piety and zeal for the Church, produced many addreſſes, full of compliments, but it has not yet had any great effect, in ſoftening the tempers of peeviſh men. When the Queen's meſſage was brought to the Houſe of Commons, ſome of the Whigs, particularly Sir John Holland and Sir Joſeph Jekyll, moved that the clergy might be entirely freed from that tax, ſince they bore as heavy a ſhare of other taxes; and that another fund might be raiſed of the ſame value, out of which ſmall benefices might be augmented: But this was violently oppoſed by Muſgrave, and other tories, who ſaid the clergy ought to be kept ſtill in a dependence on the Crown.

An act paſſed about it.

Upon the Queen's meſſage, a bill was brought in, enabling her to alienate this branch of the revenue, and to create a corporation by charter, to apply it to the uſe for which ſhe now gave it: They added to this a repeal of the ſtatute of Mortmain, ſo far as that it might be free to all men, either by deed or by their laſt wills, to give what they thought fit towards the augmenting of benefices:

fices: It was ſuggeſted, how truly I cannot tell, 1704.
that this addition was made in hope that it would be rejected by the Lords, and that the ſcandal of loſing the bill might lie on them. It occaſioned a great debate in the Houſe of Lords: It was ſaid, that this law was made and kept up even during the times of Popery, and it ſeemed not reaſonable to open a door to practices upon dying men. It was anſwered, that we had not the arts of affrighting men by the terrors of purgatory, or by fables of apparitions: Where theſe were practiſed, it was very reaſonable to reſtrain prieſts from thoſe artifices by which they had ſo enriched their Church, that without ſome ſuch effectual checks they would have ſwallowed up the whole wealth of the world, as they had indeed in England, during Popery, made themſelves maſters of a full third part of the nation. The Biſhops were ſo zealous and unanimous for the bill, that it was carried and paſſed into a law. The Queen was pleaſed to let it be known, that the firſt motion of this matter came from me: Such a project would have been much magnified at another time; and thoſe, who had promoted it, would have been looked on as the trueſt friends of the Church: But this did not ſeem to make any great impreſſion at that time; only it produced a Set of Addreſſes, from all the clergy of England, full of thanks and juſt acknowledgments.

I come now, in the laſt place, to give the relation of the diſcoveries made of a plot which took up much of the Lords time, and gave occaſion to many ſharp reflections, that paſs'd between the two Houſes in their addreſſes to the Queen. About the ſame time that the ſtory of Frazier's paſs and negotiations began to break out, Sir John Macclean a Papiſt, and the head of that tribe or clan in the Highlands and weſtern Iſles of Scotland, came over from France in a little boat, and landed ſecretly at Folkſton in Kent: He brought his lady

A plot diſcovered.

1704. lady with him, tho' she had been delivered of a child, but eleven days before. He was taken, and sent up to London; and it seemed, by all circumstances, that he came over upon some important design: He pretended at first, that he came only to go thro' England and Scotland, to take the benefit of the Queen's general pardon there: But when he was told, that the pardon in Scotland was not a good warrant to come into England, and that it was high-treason to come from France, without a pass, he was not willing to expose himself to the severity of the law: So he was prevailed on to give an account of all that he knew, concerning the negotiations between France and Scotland. Some others were at the same time taken up upon his information, and some upon suspicion: Among these there was one Keith, whose uncle was one of those, who was most trusted by the court of St. Germains, and whom they had sent over with Frazier, to bring them an account of the temper the Scotch were in, upon which they might depend. Keith had been long at that court, he had free access both to that Queen and Prince, and hoped they would have made him under secretary for Scotland; for some time, he denied that he knew any thing, but afterwards he confessed he was made acquainted with Frazier's transactions, and he undertook to deal with his uncle to come and discover all he knew, and pretended there was no other design among them, but to lay matters so, that the Prince of Wales should reign after the Queen. Ferguson offered himself to make great discoveries: He said Frazier was imployed by the Duke of Queensbury, to decoy some into a plot, which he had framed and intended to discover, as soon as he had drawn many into the guilt: He affirmed that there was no plot among the Jacobites, who were glad to see one of the race of the Stuarts on the throne: And they designed, when the state of the war might dispose the Queen to a treaty with France to get such terms given her,

her, as King Stephen and King Henry the Sixth had, to reign during her life. When I heard this, I could not but remember what the Duke of Athol had ſaid to myſelf, ſoon after the Queen's coming to the Crown: I ſaid, I hoped none in Scotland thought of the Prince of Wales: He anſwered, he knew none that thought of him as long as the Queen lived: I replied, that if any thought of him after that, I was ſure the Queen would live no longer, than till they thought their deſigns for him were well laid: But he ſeemed to have no apprehenſions of that. I preſently told the Queen this, without naming the perſon, and ſhe anſwered me very quick, there was no manner of doubt of that: But tho' I could not but reflect often on that diſcourſe, yet ſince it was ſaid to me in confidence, I never ſpoke of it to any one perſon, during all the enquiry, that was now on foot: But I think it too material not to ſet it down here. Ferguſon was a man of a particular character: Upon the revolution he had a very good place given him, but his ſpirit was ſo turned to plotting, that within a few months after he turned about, and he has been ever ſince the boldeſt and moſt active man of the Jacobite party: He pretended he was now for high church, but many believed him a Papiſt: There was matter of treaſon ſworn both againſt him and Keith, but there was only one witneſs to it. 1704.

At the ſame time Lindſey was taken up: he had been under-ſecretary firſt to the Earl of Melfort, and then to the Earl of Middletoun; he had carried over from France the letters and orders, that gave riſe to the Earl of Dundee's breaking out, the year after the revolution; and he had been much truſted at St. Germains; he had a ſmall eſtate in Scotland, and he pretended, that he took the benefit of the Queen's pardon, and had gone to Scotland to ſave that; and being ſecured by this pardon, he thought he might come from Scotland

1704. Scotland to England; but he could pretend no colour for his coming to England; ſo it was not doubted, but that he came hither to manage their correſpondence and intrigues. He pretended he knew of no deſigns againſt the Queen and her government; and that the Court of St. Germains, and the Earl of Middletoun in particular, had no deſign againſt the Queen; but when he was ſhewed Frazier's commiſſion to be a colonel, ſigned by the pretended King, and counterſigned Middletoun, he ſeemed amazed at it; he did not pretend it was a forgery, but he ſaid that things of that kind were never communicated to him.

At the ſame time, that theſe were taken up, others were taken on the coaſt of Suſſex; one of theſe, Boucher, was a chief officer in the Duke of Berwick's family, who was then going to Spain, but it was ſuſpected that this was a blind to cover his going to Scotland; the Houſe of Lords apprehended, that this man was ſent on great deſigns, and ſuſpecting a remiſſneſs in the miniſtry, in looking after and examining thoſe, who came from France, they made an addreſs to the Queen, that Boucher might be well look'd to; they did alſo order Sir John Macclean to be brought before them; but the Queen ſent them a meſſage, that Macclean's buſineſs was then in a method of examination, and that ſhe did not think fit to alter that, for ſome time: But as for Boucher, and thoſe who were taken with him, the Earl of Nottingham told the Houſe, that they were brought up, and that they might do with them as they pleaſed; upon that the Houſe ſent back Macclean, and ordered the uſher of the black rod to take the other priſoners into his cuſtody, and they named a committee of ſeven Lords to examine them. At this time, the Queen came to the Parliament, and acquainted both Houſes, that ſhe had unqueſtionable proofs of a correſpondence between France and Scotland, with which ſhe would acquaint them, when the examinations were taken.

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The Commons were in an ill humour againſt the Lords, and ſo they were glad to find occaſions to vent it: They thought the Lords ought not to have entred upon this examination; they complained of it as of a new and unheard-of thing, in an addreſs to the Queen; they ſaid it was an invaſion of her prerogative, which they deſired her to exert. This was a proceeding without a precedent; the parliamentary method was, when one houſe was offended with any thing done in the other, conferences were demanded, in which matters were freely debated; to begin an appeal to the throne was new, and might be managed, by an ill deſigning Prince, ſo as to end in the ſubverſion of the whole conſtitution; and it was an amazing thing, to ſee a Houſe of Commons affirm, in ſo publick a manner and ſo poſitively, that the Lords taking criminals into their own cuſtody, in order to an examination, was without warrant or precedent; when there were ſo many inſtances, freſh in every man's memory, eſpecially ſince the time of the Popiſh plot, of precedents in both houſes, that went much further; of which a full ſearch has been made, and a long liſt of them was read in the Houſe of Lords. That did not a little confound thoſe among them, who were believed to be in a ſecret correſpondence with the Houſe of Commons; they were forced to confeſs, that they ſaw the Lords had clear Precedents to juſtify them, in what they had done, of which they were in great doubt before.

1704. Diſputes between the two Houſes in addreſſes to the Queen.

The Lords upon this made a very long addreſs to the Queen, in which they complained of the ill uſage they had met with from the Houſe of Commons; they uſed none of thoſe hard words, that were in the addreſs made againſt them by the Houſe of Commons, yet they juſtified every ſtep they had taken, as founded on the law and practice of Parliament, and no way contrary to the duty and reſpect they owed the Queen: The behaviour of the Houſe of Commons was ſuch, on this occaſion, as if

1704. if they had no mind that plots ſhould be narrowly looked into; no Houſe of Parliament, and indeed no Court of Judicature, did examine any perſon, without taking him into their own cuſtody, during ſuch examination; and if a perſon's being in cuſtody muſt reſtrain a Houſe of Parliament from examining him, here was a maxim laid down, by which bad miniſters might cover themſelves from any enquiry into their ill practices, only by taking the perſons, who could make diſcoveries, into cuſtody: The Lords alſo ſet forth the ill conſequences that might follow, upon one Houſe of Parliament carrying their complaints of another to the Throne, without taking firſt the proper method of conferences: This addreſs was drawn with the utmoſt force, as well as beauty and decency of ſtile; and was reckoned one of the beſt pieces of its kind, that were in all the records of Parliament. The Queen, in her anſwer, expreſſed a great concern to ſee ſuch a diſpute, between the two Houſes.

Boucher, when he was examined, would confeſs nothing; he ſaid, he was weary of living ſo long out of his country, and that having made ſome attempt to obtain a paſs, when that was denied him, he choſe, rather than to live always abroad, to come and caſt himſelf upon the Queen's mercy; it did not ſeem reaſonable to believe this; ſo the Lords made an addreſs to the Queen, that he might have no hopes of pardon, till he was more ſincere in his diſcoveries; and they prayed that he might be proſecuted on the ſtatute: He confeſſed his crime, and was condemned, but continued ſtill denying, that he knew any thing; few could believe this; yet there being no ſpecial matter laid againſt him, his caſe was to be pitied; he proved, that he had ſaved the lives of many priſoners, during the war of Ireland, and that during the war in Flanders, he had been very careful of all Engliſh priſoners: When all this was laid before the Lords, they

they did not think fit to carry the matter farther, so he was reprieved, and that matter ſlept. 1704.

About the end of January, the Queen ſent the examinations of the priſoners to the two Houſes; the Houſe of Commons heard them read, but paſſed no judgment upon them, nor did they offer any advice to the Queen, upon this occaſion; they only ſent them back to the Queen, with thanks for communicating them, and for her wiſdom and care of the nation: It was thought ſtrange, to ſee a buſineſs of this nature treated ſo ſlightly, by a body that had looked, in former times, more carefully to things of this kind; eſpecially ſince it had appeared, in many inſtances, how dextrous the French were in raiſing diſtractions in their enemies country: It was evident, that a negotiation was begun, and had been now carried on for ſome time, for an army that was to be ſent from France to Scotland; upon this, which was the main of the diſcovery, it was very amazing to ſee, that the Commons neither offered the Queen any advice, nor gave her a vote of credit, for any extraordinary expence, in which the progreſs of that matter might engage her; a credit ſo given might have had a great effect, towards defeating the deſign, when it appeared how well the Queen was furniſhed to reſiſt it: This coldneſs, in the Houſe of Commons, gave great and juſt ground of ſuſpicion, that thoſe, who had the chief credit there, did not act heartily, in order to the defeating all ſuch plots, but were willing to let them go on, without check or oppoſition.

The Lords reſolved to examine the whole matter narrowly; the Earl of Nottingham laid before them, an abſtract of all the examinations, the council had taken; but ſome took great exceptions to it, as drawn on deſign to make it appear more inconſiderable, than they believed it to be: The ſubſtance of the whole was, that there went many meſſages between the Courts of St. Germains and

The Lords ordered a ſecret examination of all who were ſuſpected to be in this plot.

1704. Verſailles, with relation to the affairs of Scotland; the Court of Verſailles was willing to ſend an army to Scotland, but they deſired to be well aſſured of the aſſiſtance they might expect there; in order to which, ſome were ſent over, according to what Frazier had told the Duke of Queenſbury; ſome of the papers were writ in gibberiſh, ſo the Lords moved that a reward ſhould be offered, to any who ſhould decypher theſe. When the Lords aſked the Earl of Nottingham, if every thing was laid before them, he anſwered, that there was only one particular kept from them; becauſe they were in hopes of a diſcovery, that was like to be of more conſequence than all the reſt: So after the delay of a few days, to ſee the iſſue of it, which was Keith's endeavouring to perſuade his uncle (who knew every ſtep that had been made, in the whole progreſs of this affair) to come in and diſcover it, when they were told there was no more hope of that, the Lords ordered the committee, which had examined Boucher, to examine into all theſe diſcoveries. Upon this the Commons, who expreſſed a great uneaſineſs, at every ſtep the Lords made in the matter, went with a new addreſs to the Queen, inſiſting on their former complaints, againſt the proceedings of the Lords, as a wreſting the matter out of the Queen's hands, and the taking it wholly into their own; and they prayed the Queen to reſume her prerogative, thus violated by the Lords, whoſe proceedings they affirmed to be without a precedent.

The ſeven Lords went on with their examinations, and after ſome days they made a report to the Houſe; Macclean's confeſſion was the main thing; it was full and particular; he named the perſons that ſate in the council at St. Germains; he ſaid, the command was offered to the Duke of Berwick, which he declined to accept, till trial was made whether Duke Hamilton would accept of it, who he thought was the proper perſon; he told likewiſe,

wife, what directions had been ſent to hinder the ſettling the ſucceſſion in Scotland; none of which particulars were in the paper, that the Earl of Nottingham had brought to the houſe of his confeſſion. It was farther obſerved, that all the reſt, whoſe examinations amounted to little, were obliged to write their own confeſſions, or at leaſt to ſign them: But Macclean had not done this; for after he had delivered his confeſſion by word of mouth to the Earl of Nottingham, that Lord wrote it all from his report, and read it to him the next day; upon which he acknowledged, it contained a full account of all he had ſaid. Macclean's diſcovery to the Lords was a clear ſeries of all the counſels and meſſages, and it gave a full view of the debates and opinions in the council at St. Germains, all which was omitted in that, which was taken by the Earl of Nottingham, and his paper concerning it was both ſhort and dark; there was an appearance of truth, in all that Macclean told, and a regular progreſs was ſet forth in it. 1704.

Upon theſe obſervations thoſe Lords, who were not ſatisfied with the Earl of Nottingham's paper, intended to have paſſed a cenſure upon it, as imperfect: It was ſaid, in the debate that followed upon this motion, either Macclean was aſked, who was to command the army to be ſent into Scotland, or he was not; if he was aſked the queſtion, and had anſwered it, then the Earl of Nottingham had not ſerved the Queen or uſed the Parliament well, ſince he had not put it in the paper; if it was not aſked, here was great remiſſneſs in a Miniſter, when it was confeſſed, that the ſending over an army was in conſultation, not to aſk who was to command that army. Upon this occaſion, the Earl of Torrington made ſome reflections, that had too deep a venom in them: He ſaid, the Earl of Nottingham did prove, that he had often read over the paper, in which he had ſet down Macclean's confeſſion, in his hearing; and had aſked him, if

1704. all he had confeſſed to him was not fully ſet down in that paper; to which he always anſwered, that every thing he had ſaid was contained in it. Upon this, that Earl obſerved, that Macclean, having perhaps told his whole ſtory to the Earl of Nottingham, and finding afterwards, that he had writ ſuch a defective account of it, he had reaſon to conclude, (for he believed, had he been in his condition, he ſhould have concluded ſo himſelf,) that the Earl of Nottingham had no mind, that he ſhould mention any thing, but what he had writ down, and that he deſired that the reſt might be ſuppreſſed: He could not judge of others but by himſelf; if his life had been in danger, and if he were interrogated by a Miniſter of State, who could do him either much good or much hurt, and if he had made a full diſcovery to him, but had obſerved that this Miniſter, in taking his confeſſion in writing, had omitted many things, he ſhould have underſtood that, as an intimation that he was to ſpeak of theſe things no more; and ſo he believed he ſhould have ſaid it was all, tho' at the ſame time he knew it was not all, that he had ſaid. It was hereupon moved, that Macclean might be ſent for and interrogated, but the party was not ſtrong enough to carry any thing of that kind; and by a previous vote it was carried, to put no queſtion concerning the Earl of Nottingham's paper.

The Lords were highly offended with Ferguſon's paper, and paſſed a ſevere vote againſt thoſe Lords, who had received ſuch a ſcandalous paper from him, and had not ordered him to be proſecuted upon it; which they directed the Attorney-General to do. It was apparent, there was a train of dangerous negotiations, that paſſed between Scotland and St. Germains, tho' they could not penetrate into the bottom and depth of it: And the deſign of Keith's bringing in his uncle, was managed ſo remiſsly, that it was generally concluded that it was not in earneſt deſired it ſhould ſucceed. Dur-

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ing theſe debates, one very extraordinary thing happened: The Earl of Nottingham did, upon three or four occaſions, affirm, that ſome things had been ordered in the Cabinet Council, which the Dukes of Somerſet and Devonſhire, who were likewiſe of that council, did not agree with him in. 1704.

After all theſe examinations and debates, the Lords concluded the whole matter, with voting that there had been dangerous plots between ſome in Scotland and the court of France and St. Germains; and that the encouragement of this plotting came, from the not ſettling the ſucceſſion to the crown of Scotland in the Houſe of Hanover: Theſe votes they laid before the Queen; and promiſed, that when this was done, they would endeavour to promote the union of the two kingdoms, upon juſt and reaſonable terms. The Lords opinion upon the whole matter.

This being ended, they made a long and vigorous addreſs, in anſwer to that which the Commons had made againſt them: They obſerved how uneaſy the Commons had been at the whole progreſs of their inquiry into this matter, and had taken methods to obſtruct it all they could; which did not ſhew that zeal for the Queen's ſafety, and the preſervation of the nation, to which all men pretended: They annexed to their addreſs, a liſt of many precedents, to ſhew what good warrants they had for every ſtep they had made: They took not the examination to themſelves, ſo as to exclude others who had the ſame right, and might have done it as well as they, if they had pleaſed: Their proceedings had been regular and parliamentary, as well as full of zeal and duty to the Queen: They made ſevere obſervations on ſome of the proceedings in the Houſe of Commons, particularly on their not ordering writs to be iſſued out for ſome boroughs, to proceed to new elections, when they upon pretence of corruption, had voted an election void; which had been practiſed of late, when it was viſible that the election would not fall on the perſon An addreſs juſtifying the proceeding of the Lords.

1704. they favoured. They charged this as a denial of juſtice, and of the right that ſuch boroughs had to be repreſented in Parliament, and as an arbitrary and illegal way of proceeding: This addreſs was penned with great care and much force. Theſe addreſſes were drawn by the Lord Somers, and were read over and conſidered and corrected very critically, by a few Lords, among whom I had the honour to be called for one. This, with the other papers that were publiſhed by the Lords, made a great impreſſion on the body of the nation: For the difference that was between theſe, and thoſe publiſhed by the Houſe of Commons, was indeed ſo viſible, that it did not admit of any compariſon, and was confeſſed even by thoſe who were the moſt partial to them.

An act for recruits. An act paſſed in this ſeſſion, which may be of great advantage to the nation, if well executed; otherwiſe, ſince it is only enacted for one year, it will not be of much uſe: It impowers the juſtices of peace, or any three of them, to take up ſuch idle perſons, as have no callings nor means of ſubſiſtence, and to deliver them to the officers of the army, upon paying them the levy money, that is allowed for making recruits: The methods of raiſing theſe hitherto, by drinking and other bad practices, as they were juſtly odious, ſo they were now ſo well known, that they were no more of any effect: So that the army could not be recruited, but by the help of this act. And if this is well managed, it will prove of great advantage to the nation; ſince by this means, they will be delivered from many vicious and idle perſons, who are become a burthen to their country: And indeed there was of late years ſo great an increaſe of the poor, that their maintenance was become in moſt places a very heavy load, and amounted to the full half of the publick taxes. The party in both Houſes, that had been all along cold and backward in the war, oppoſed this act with unuſual vehemence; they

pretended zeal for the publick liberty, and the free- 1704.
dom of the perſon, to which, by the conſtitution, they ſaid every Engliſhman had a right; which they thought could not be given away, but by a legal judgment, and for ſome crime. They thought this put a power in the hands of juſtices of peace, which might be ſtretched and abuſed, to ſerve bad ends: Thus men, that ſeemed engaged to an intereſt, that was deſtructive to all liberty, could yet make uſe of that ſpecious pretence, to ſerve their purpoſe. The act paſſed, and has been continued from year to year, with a very good effect: Only a viſible remiſſneſs appears in ſome juſtices, who are ſecretly influenced by men of ill deſigns.

The chief objection made to it in the Houſe of Lords was, that the juſtices of peace had been put in and put out, in ſo ſtrange a manner, ever ſince Wright had the Great Seal, that they did not deſerve ſo great a power ſhould be committed to them: Many gentlemen, of good eſtates, and ancient families, had been of late put out of the commiſſion, for no other viſible reaſon, but becauſe they had gone in heartily to the revolution, and had continued zealous for the late King. This ſeemed done on deſign to mark them, and to leſſen the intereſt they had in the elections of members of Parliament: And at the ſame time, men of no worth nor eſtate, and known to be ill-affected to the Queen's title, and to the Proteſtant ſucceſſion, were put in, to the great encouragement of ill-deſigning men: All was managed by ſecret accuſations, and characters that were very partially given. Wright was a zealot to the party, and was become very exceptionable in all reſpects: Money, as was ſaid, did every thing with him; only in his court, I never heard him charged, for any thing but great flowneſs, by which the chancery was become one of the heavieſt grievances of the nation. An addreſs was made to the Queen, complaining of the commiſſions of the peace, in which the

An addreſs concerning the juſtices of peace.

1704. Lords delivered their opinion, that such as would not serve, or act under the late King, were not fit to serve her Majesty.

The ill temper of many, especially of the clergy.

With this the session of Parliament was brought to a quiet conclusion, after much heat and a great deal of contention between the two Houses: The Queen, as she thanked them for the supplies, so she again recommended union and moderation to them. These words, which had hitherto carried so good a sound, that all sides pretended to them, were now become so odious to violent men, that even in sermons, chiefly at Oxford, they were arraigned as importing somewhat, that was unkind to the Church, and that favoured the dissenters: The House of Commons had, during this session, lost much of their reputation, not only with fair and impartial judges, but even with those, who were most inclined to favour them. It is true, the body of the freeholders began to be uneasy under the taxes, and to cry out for a peace: And most of the capital gentry of England, who had the most to lose, seemed to be ill-turned, and not to apprehend the dangers we were in, if we should fall under the power of France, and into the hands of the pretended Prince of Wales; or else they were so fatally blinded, as not to see that these must be the consequences of those measures, in which they were engaged.

The universities, Oxford especially, have been very unhappily successful in corrupting the principles of those, who were sent to be bred among them: So that few of them escaped the taint of it, and the generality of the clergy were not only ill-principled, but ill-tempered; they exclaimed against all moderation as endangering the Church, tho' it is visible, that the Church is in no sort of danger, from either the numbers or the interest that the dissenters have among us, which by reason of the toleration is now so quieted, that nothing can keep up any heat in those matters, but the folly and

and bad humour, that the clergy are poſſeſſed with, and which they infuſe into all thoſe, with whom they have credit: But at the ſame time, tho' the great and viſible danger, that hangs over us, is from Popery, which a miſcarriage in the preſent war muſt let in upon us, with an inundation, not to be either reſiſted or recovered, they ſeem to be blind on that ſide, and to apprehend and fear nothing from that quarter. 1704.

The convocation did little this winter, they continued their former ill practices, but little oppoſition was made to them, as very little regard was had to them: They drew up a repreſentation of ſome abuſes in the eccleſiaſtical diſcipline, and in the conſiſtorial courts: But took care to mention none of thoſe greater ones, of which many among themſelves were eminently guilty; ſuch as pluralities, non-reſidence, the neglect of their cures, and the irregularities in the lives of the clergy, which were too viſible.

Soon after the Seſſion was ended, the Duke of Marlborough went over to Holland. He had gone over for ſome weeks, at the deſire of the States, in January, and then there was a ſcheme formed for the operations of the next campaign. It was reſolved that, inſtead of a fruitleſs one in the Netherlands, they would have a ſmall army there, to lie only on the defenſive, which was to be commanded by M. Auverquerque; but that, ſince the Rhine was open, by the taking of Bonne, all up to the Mozelle, their main army, that was to be commanded by the Duke of Marlborough, ſhould act there: More was not underſtood to be deſigned, except by thoſe who were taken into the confidence. Upon this, all the preparations for the campaign were ordered to be carried up to the Rhine; and ſo every thing was in a readineſs, when he returned back to them in April: The true ſecret was in few hands, and the French had no hint of it, and ſeemed to have no apprehenſions about it. The Duke of Marlborough went to Holland in winter.

The

1704. The Earl of Nottingham was animated by the party, to preſs the Queen, to diſmiſs the Dukes of Somerſet and Devonſhire from the cabinet council, at leaſt that they might be called thither no more: He moved it often, but finding no inclination in the Queen to comply with his motion, he carried the ſignet to her, and told her, he could not ſerve any longer in councils, to which theſe Lords were admitted: But the Queen deſired him to conſider better of it. He returned next day, fixed in his firſt reſolution, to which he adhered the more ſteadily, becauſe the Queen had ſent to the Earl of Jerſey, for the Lord Chamberlain's ſtaff, and to Sir Edward Seymour for the Comptroller's. The Earl of Jerſey was a weak man, but crafty and well practiſed in the arts of a court: His lady was a Papiſt, and it was believed, that while he was Ambaſſador in France, he was ſecretly reconciled to the court of St. Germains: For after that, he ſeemed in their intereſts. It was one of the reproaches of the laſt reign, that he had ſo much credit with the late King; who was ſo ſenſible of it, that if he had lived a little while longer, he would have diſmiſſed him: He was conſidered as the perſon, that was now in the cloſeſt correſpondence with the court of France; and tho' he was in himſelf a very inconſiderable man, yet he was applied to, by all thoſe who wiſhed well to the court of St. Germains. The Earl of Kent had the Staff; he was the firſt Earl of England, and had a great eſtate: Manſell, the heir of a great family in Wales, was made Comptroller; and after a month's delay, Harley, the Speaker, was made Secretary of State.

The Earl of Nottingham quitted his place.

The Earl of Jerſey and Sir Edward Seymour turned out.

The Duke of Marlborough conducted his deſign with great ſecrecy.

But now I turn to give an account of the affairs abroad; the Emperor was reduced to the laſt extremities; the Elector of Bavaria was maſter of the Danube all down to Paſſau, and the male-contents in Hungary were making a formidable progreſs: The Emperor was not in a condition to main-

maintain a defenſive war long, on both hands; ſo that when theſe ſhould come to act by concert, no oppoſition could be made to them. Thus his affairs had a very black appearance, and utter ruin was to be apprehended; Vienna would be probably beſieged on both ſides; and it was not in a condition to make a long defence: So the Houſe of Auſtria ſeemed loſt. Prince Eugene propoſed that the Emperor ſhould implore the Queen's protection; this was agreed to, and Count Wratiſlaw managed the matter at our court, with great application and ſecrecy; the Duke of Marlborough ſaw the neceſſity of undertaking it, and reſolved to try, if it was poſſible, to put it in execution. When he went into Holland in the winter, he propoſed it to the penſioner and other perſons of the greateſt confidence; they approved of it, but it was not adviſeable to propoſe it to the States; at that time, many of them would not have thought their country ſafe, if their army ſhould be ſent ſo far from them; nothing could be long a ſecret, that was propoſed to ſuch an aſſembly, and the main hope of ſucceeding in this deſign lay in the ſecrecy, with which it was conducted. Under the blind of the project of carrying the war to the Mozelle, every thing was prepared, that was neceſſary for executing the true deſign. When the Duke went over the ſecond time, that which was propoſed in publick, related only to the motions towards the Mozelle; ſo he drew his army together in May: He marched towards the Mozelle; but he went farther, and after he had gained the advance of ſome days of the French troops, he wrote to the States from Ladenburg to let them know, that he had the Queen's order, to march to the relief of the empire, with which he hoped they would agree, and allow of his carrying their troops, to ſhare in the honour of that expedition; he had their anſwer, as quick as the courier could carry it, by which they approved of the deſign, and of his carrying their troops with him. 1704.

So

1704. So he marched with all poſſible expedition from the Rhine to the Danube; which was a great ſurprize to the court of France, as well as to the Elector of Bavaria. The King of France ſent orders to Mareſchal Tallard, to march in all haſte, with the beſt troops they had, to ſupport the Elector, who apprehended, that the Duke of Marlborough would endeavour to paſs the Danube at Donawert, and ſo to break into Bavaria: To prevent that, he poſted about 16000 of his beſt troops at Schellenberg near Donawert; which was looked on as a very ſtrong and tenable poſt. The Duke of Marlborough joined the Prince of Baden, with the imperial army, in the beginning of July; and after a long march, continued from three in the morning, they came up to the Bavarian troops towards the evening; they were ſo well poſted, that our men were repulſed in the three firſt attacks with great loſs; at laſt the enemy were beat from their poſts, which was followed with a total rout, and we became maſters of their camp, their artillery and their baggage. Their General Arco, with many others, ſwam over the Danube: Others got into Donawert, which they abandoned next morning, with that precipitation, that they were not able to execute the Elector's cruel orders, which were to ſet fire to the town, if they ſhould be forced to abandon it: Great quantities of ſtraw were laid in many places, as a preparation for that, in caſe of a misfortune.

He marched to the Danube.

The battle of Schellenberg.

The beſt half of the Bavarian forces were now entirely routed, about 5000 of them were killed: We loſt as many, for the action was very hot, and our men were much expoſed; yet they went ſtill on, and continued the attack with ſuch reſolution, that it let the generals ſee, how much they might depend on the courage of their ſoldiers. Now we were maſters of Donawert, and thereby of a paſſage over the Danube, which laid all Bavaria open to our army: Upon that the Elector, with

Mareſchal Marſin, drew the reſt of his army under the cannon of Augſbourg, where he lay ſo well poſted, that it was not poſſible to attack him, nor to force him out of it; the Duke of Marlborough followed him, and got between him and his country; ſo that it was wholly in his power. When he had him at this diſadvantage, he entered upon a treaty with him, and offered him what terms he could deſire, either for himſelf or his brother, even to the paying him the whole charge of the war, upon condition that he would immediately break with the French, and ſend his army into Italy, to join with the Imperialiſts there: His ſubjects, who were now at mercy, preſſed him vehemently to accept of thoſe terms; he ſeemed inclined to hearken to them, and meſſengers went often between the two armies: But this was done only to gain time, for he ſent courier after courier, with moſt preſſing inſtances to haſten the advance of the French army. When he ſaw, he could gain no more time, the matter went ſo far, that the articles were ordered to be made ready for ſigning: In concluſion, he refuſed to ſign them; and then ſevere orders were given for military execution on his country: Every thing that was within the reach of the army, that was worth taking, was brought away; and the reſt was burnt and deſtroyed. 1704.

The two generals did after that reſolve on further action, and ſince the Elector's camp could not be forced, the ſiege of Ingolſtad was to be carried on: It was the moſt important place he had, in which his great magazines were laid up. The Prince of Baden went to beſiege it; and the Duke of Marlborough was to cover the ſiege, in conjunction with Prince Eugene, who commanded a body of the imperial army, which was now drawn out of the poſts, in which they had been put, in order to hinder the march of the French: But they were not able to maintain them, againſt ſo great a force

as

1704. as was now coming up; these formed a great army. Prince Eugene, having intelligence of the quick motions of the French, posted his troops, that were about 18000, as advantageously as he could: And went to concert matters with the Duke of Marlborough, who lay at some distance: He upon that marched towards the Prince's army with all possible haste, and so the two armies joined; it was now in the beginning of August. The Elector hearing how near M. Tallard was, marched with M. Marsin, and joined him. Their armies advanced very near ours, and were well posted; having the Danube on one side, and a rivulet on the other, whose banks were high, and in some places formed a morass before them. The two armies were now in view one of another: The French were superior to us in foot, by about 10000; but we had 3000 horse more than they: The post of which they were possessed was capable of being, in a very little time, put out of all danger of future attacks; so the Duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene saw how important it was, to lose no time, and resolved to attack them the next morning: They saw the danger of being forced otherwise to lie idle in their camp, 'till their forage should be consumed, and their provisions spent. They had also intercepted letters from Marechal Villeroy to the Elector, by which it appeared, that he had orders to march into Wirtemberg, to destroy that country, and to cut off the communication with the Rhine, which must have been fatal to us: So the necessary dispositions were made for the next morning's action. Many of the general officers came and represented to the Duke of Marlborough the difficulties of the design; he said he saw these well, but the thing was absolutely necessary: so they were sent to give orders every where, which was received all over the army with an alacrity, that gave a happy presage of the success that followed.

I will

I will not venture on a particular relation of that great day; I have seen a copious account of it, prepared by the Duke of Marlborough's orders, that will be printed some time or other: But there are some passages in it, which make him not think it fit to be published presently. He told me, he never saw more evident characters of a special providence, than appeared that day; a signal one related to his own person; a cannon-ball went into the ground so near him, that he was some time quite covered with the cloud of dust and earth that it raised about him. I will sum up the action in a few words. 1704.

The Battle of Hocksted.

Our men quickly passed the brook, the French making no opposition: This was a fatal error, and was laid wholly to Tallard's charge; the action that followed was for some time very hot, many fell on both sides; ten battalions of the French stood their ground, but were in a manner mowed down in their ranks; upon that the horse ran many of them into the Danube, most of these perished; Tallard himself was taken prisoner. The rest of his troops were posted in the village of Blenheim: These, seeing all lost, and that some bodies were advancing upon them, which seemed to them to be thicker than indeed they were, and apprehending that it was impossible to break thro', they did not attempt it, tho' brave men might have made their way. Instead of that when our men came up to set fire to the village; the Earl of Orkney first beating a parley, they hearkened to it very easily, and were all made prisoners of war: There were about 1300 officers and 12000 common soldiers, who laid down their arms, and were now in our hands. Thus all Tallard's army was either killed in the action, drowned in the Danube, or become prisoners by capitulation: Things went not so easily on Prince Eugene's side, where the Elector and Marsin commanded; he was repulsed in three attacks, but carried the fourth, and broke in; and

so

1704. ſo he was maſter of their camp, cannon, and baggage. The enemy retired in ſome order, and he purſued them as far as men, wearied with an action of about ſix hours, in an extreme hot day, could go; thus we gained an entire victory. In this action there was on our ſide about 12000 killed and wounded; but the French and the Elector loſt about 40000 killed, wounded and taken.

The Elector marched with all the haſte he could to Ulm, where he left ſome troops, and then with a ſmall body got to Villeroy's army. Now all Bavaria was at mercy; the Electreſs received the civilities due to her ſex, but ſhe was forced to ſubmit to ſuch terms, as were impoſed on her: Ingolſtad and all the fortified places in the electorate, with the magazines that were in them, were ſoon delivered up: Augſbourg, Ulm and Meming quickly recovered their liberty; ſo now our army, having put a ſpeedy concluſion to the war, that was got ſo far into the bowels of the empire, marched quickly back to the Rhine. The emperor made great acknowledgments of this ſignal ſervice, which the Duke of Marlborough had done him, and upon it offered to make him a Prince of the empire; he very decently ſaid, he could not accept of this, till he knew the Queen's pleaſure; and upon her conſenting to it, he was created a Prince of the empire, and about a year after, Mindleheim was aſſigned him for his principality.

Upon this great ſucceſs in Germany, the Duke of Savoy ſent a very preſſing meſſage for a preſent ſupply; the Duke of Vendome was in Piedmont, and after a long ſiege had taken Verceil, and was like to make a further progreſs: The few remains of the imperial army, that lay in the Modeneze, gave but a ſmall diverſion; the Grand Prior had ſo ſhut them up, that they lay on a feeble defenſive; Baron Leiningen was ſent, with another ſmall army into the Breſcian; but he was ſo ill ſupplied, that he could do nothing, but eat up the country; and

and the Venetians were ſo feeble and ſo fearful, 1704.
that they ſuffered their country to be eat up by both ſides, without declaring for or againſt either. The Prince of Baden inſiſted on undertaking the Siege of Landau, as neceſſary to ſecure the circles, Suabia in particular, from the excurſions of that garriſon: This was popular in Germany, and tho' the Duke of Marlborough did not approve it, he did not oppoſe it, with all the authority that his great ſucceſs gave him: So the Prince of Baden undertook it, while the Duke with his army cover'd the ſiege. This was univerſally blamed, for while France was in the conſternation, which the late great loſs brought them under, a more vigorous proceeding was like to have greater effects; beſides that the imperial army was ill provided, the great charge of a ſiege was above their ſtrength: The Prince of Baden ſuffered much in his reputation for this undertaking; it was that, which the French wiſhed for, and ſo it was ſuſpected, that ſome ſecret practice had prevailed on that Prince to propoſe it. It is certain, that he was jealous of the glory the Duke had got, in which he had no ſhare; and it was believed, that if he had not gone to beſiege Ingolſtat, the battle had never been fought: He was indeed ſo fierce a bigot in his religion, that he could not bear the ſucceſſes of thoſe, he called hereticks, and the exaltation which he thought hereſy might have upon it.

While the Duke of Marlborough lay covering the Siege Villeroy with his army came and looked on him; but as our ſoldiers were exalted with their ſucceſs, ſo the French were too much diſpirited with their loſſes, to make any attack, or to put any thing to hazard, in order to raiſe the ſiege: They retired back, and went into quarters, and truſted to the bad ſtate of the imperial army, who were ill provided and ill ſupplied; the garriſon made as vigorous a defence, and drew out the

1704. Siege to as great a length, as could be expected: The Prince of Baden had neither engineers nor ammunition, and wanted money to provide them; so that if the Duke had not supplied him, he must have been forced to give it over. The King of the Romans came again, to have the honour of taking the place; his behaviour there did not serve to raise his character; he was not often in the places of danger, and was content to look on at a great and safe distance; he was always beset with priests, and such a face of superstition and bigotry appeared about him, that it very much damped the hopes, that were given of him.

The Duke of Marlborough advanced to Triers.

When it appeared, that there was no need of an army to cover the Siege, and that the place could not hold out many days, the Duke of Marlborough resolved to possess himself of Triers, as a good winter quarter, that brought him near the confines of France; from whence he might open the campaign next year, with great advantage: And he reckoned that the taking of Traerback, even in that advanced season, would be soon done: And then the communication with Holland, by water, was all clear: So that during the winter, every thing that was necessary could be brought up thither from Holland safe and cheap. This he executed with that diligence, that the French abandoned every place as he advanced, with such precipitation, that they had not time given them, to burn the places they forsook, according to the barbarous method, which they had long practised. The Duke got to Triers, and that being a large place, he posted a great part of his army in and about it, and left a sufficient force with the Prince of Hesse for the taking of Traerback, which held out some Weeks, but capitulated at last. Landau was not taken before the middle of November.

Thus ended this glorious campaign; in which England and Holland gained a very unusual glory: for as they had never sent their armies so far by land,

ſo their triumphant return helped not a little to animate and unite their counſels. Prince Eugene had a juſt ſhare, in the honour of this great expedition, which he had chiefly promoted by his counſels, and did ſo nobly ſupport by his conduct. The Prince of Baden had no ſhare in the publick joy: His conduct was as bad as could be, and the fret he was poſſeſſed with, upon the glory that the other generals carried from him, threw him, as was believed, into a languiſhing, of which he never quite recovered, and of which he died two years after. 1704.

At the concluſion of the campaign, the Duke of Marlborough went to Berlin, where he concerted the meaſures for the next campaign, and agreed with the King of Pruſſia, for 8000 of his troops, which were to be ſent to Italy upon the Queen's pay: He had ſettled matters with the emperor's miniſters, ſo that they undertook to ſend Prince Eugene, with an army of 20000 men, who ſhould begin their march into Italy, as ſoon as it was poſſible to paſs the mountains: Of theſe the Queen and the States were to pay 16000. He returned by the Court of Hanover, where he was treated with all the honour, that the ſucceſs of the campaign well deſerved: He met with the ſame reception in Holland, and was as much conſidered and ſubmitted to, as if he had been their Stadtholder: The credit he was in among them was very happy to them, and was indeed neceſſary at that time, for keeping down their factions and animoſities, which were riſing in every province, and in moſt of their towns. Only Amſterdam, as it was the moſt ſenſible of the common danger, ſo it was not only quiet within itſelf, but it contributed not a little to keep all the reſt ſo, which was chiefly maintained by the Duke of Marlborough's prudent management. England was full of joy, and addreſſes of congratulation were ſent up from all parts of the nation; but it was very viſible that,

1704. in many places, the Tories went into these very coldly, and perhaps that made the Whigs the more zealous and affectionate.

Affairs at sea.

I now turn to the other element, where our affairs were carried on more doubtfully. Rook sailed into the Straits where he reckoned he was strong enough for the Toulon squadron, which was then abroad in the Mediterranean. Soon after that, a strong squadron from Brest passed by Lisbon into the Straits. Methuen, our ambassador there, apprehending, that if these two squadrons should join to attack Rook, it would not be possible for him to fight against so great a force, sent a man-of-war, that Rook had left at Lisbon, with some particular orders, which made him very unwilling to carry the message, but Methuen promised to save him harmless. He upon that sailed thro' the French fleet, and brought this important advertisement to Rook; who told him, that on this occasion he would pass by his not observing his orders, but that for the future, he would find the safest course was to obey orders. Upon this, Rook stood out of the way of the French, towards the mouth of the Straits, and there he met Shovel, with a squadron of our best ships; so being thus reinforced, he sailed up the Straits, being now in a condition, if need were, to engage the French. He came before Barcelona, where the prince of Hesse Darmstat assured him, there was a strong party ready to declare for king Charles, as it was certain, that there was a great disposition in many to it. But Rook would not stay above three days before it: so that the motions within the town, and the discoveries that many made of their inclinations, had almost proved fatal to them: He answered, when pressed to stay a few days more, that his orders were positive: he must make towards Nice: which it was believed the French intended to besiege.

But as he was sailing that way, he had advice, that the French had made no advances in that design:

ſign: ſo he turned his courſe weſtward, and came in ſight of the French fleet, ſailing from Breſt to Toulon: the advantage he had was ſo viſible, that it was expected he would have made towards them; he did it not: what orders he had was not known, for the matter never came under examination: They got to Toulon, and he ſteered another way. The whole French fleet was then together in that harbour, for tho' the Toulon ſquadron had been out before, it was then in port. 1704.

A very happy accident had preſerved a rich fleet of merchant ſhips from Scanderoon, under the convoy of three or four frigates, from falling into their hands: the French fleet lay in their way in the bay of Tunis, and nothing could have ſaved them from being taken, but that which happened in the critical minute, in which they needed it: a thick fog covered them all the while, that they were ſailing by that bay, ſo that they had no apprehenſion of the danger they were in, till they had paſſed it. I know it is not poſſible to determine, when ſuch accidents riſe from a chain of ſecond cauſes in the courſe of nature, and when they are directed by a ſpecial providence: but my mind has always carried me ſo ſtrongly to acknowledge the latter, that I love to ſet theſe reflections in the way of others, that they may conſider them with the ſame ſerious attention, that I feel in myſelf.

Rook, as he ſailed back, fell in upon Gibraltar; where he ſpent much powder, bombarding it to very little purpoſe, that he might ſeem to attempt ſomewhat; though there was no reaſon to hope that he could ſucceed: ſome bold men ventured to go a-ſhore, in a place where it was not thought poſſible to climb up the rocks; yet they ſucceeded in it; when they got up, they ſaw all the women of the town were come out, according to their Superſtition, to a chapel there, to implore the virgin's protection; they ſeized on them, and that contributed not a little to diſpoſe thoſe in the town to ſurrender; Gibraltar was taken.

1704. they had leave to ſtay or go as they pleaſed; and in caſe they ſtaid, they were aſſured of protection in their religion, and in every thing elſe; for the Prince of Heſſe, who was to be their Governor, was a Papiſt: But they all went away, with the ſmall garriſon that had defended the place. The Prince of Heſſe, with the marines that were on board the fleet, poſſeſſed himſelf of the place, and they were furniſhed out of the ſtores, that went with the fleet, with every thing that was neceſſary for their ſubſiſtence or defence; and a regular method was laid down, of ſupplying them conſtantly from Liſbon.

It has been much queſtioned, by men who underſtand theſe matters well, whether our poſſeſſing ourſelves of Gibraltar, and our maintaining ourſelves in it ſo long, was to our advantage or not; it has certainly put us to a great charge, and we have loſt many men in it; but it ſeems the Spaniards, who ſhould know the importance of the place beſt, think it ſo valuable, that they have been at a much greater charge, and have loſt many more men, while they have endeavoured to recover it, than the taking or keeping it has coſt us: And it is certain that in war, whatſoever loſs on one ſide occaſions a greater loſs of men or of treaſure to the other, muſt be reckoned a loſs only to the ſide that ſuffers moſt.

The affairs of Portugal.

Our expedition in Portugal, and our armies there, which coſt us ſo dear, and from which we expected ſo much, had not hitherto had any great effects: The King of Portugal expreſſed the beſt intentions poſſible; but he was much governed by his miniſters, who were all in the French intereſts; they had a great army, but they had made no preparations for taking the field; nor could they bring their troops together, for want of proviſions and carriages; the forms of their government made them very ſlow, and not eaſily acceſſible: They were too proud to confeſs that they wanted any thing,

thing, when they had nothing; and too lazy to be- 1704.
ſtir themſelves, to execute what was in their pow-
er to do; and the King's ill health furniſhed them with an excuſe, for every thing that was defective, and out of order. The Prieſts both in Spain and Portugal were ſo univerſally in the French intereſt, that even the Houſe of Auſtria, that had been formerly ſo much in their favour, was now in diſgrace with them: Their alliance with hereticks, and their bringing over an army of them, to maintain their pretenſions, had made all their former ſervices be forgotten: The governing body at Rome did certainly engage all their zealots every where to ſupport that intereſt, which is now ſo ſet on the deſtruction of hereſy. King Philip advanced towards the frontiers of Portugal, his army being commanded by the Duke of Berwick, who began to ſhine there, tho' he had paſſed elſewhere for a man of no very great character. They had ſeveral advantages of the Portugueze; ſome of the Engliſh and Dutch battalions, which were ſo poſted, that they could not be relieved, and in places that were not tenable, fell into the enemies hands, and were made priſoners of war. Some of the general officers, who came over, ſaid to me, that if the Duke of Berwick had followed his advantages, nothing could have hindered his coming to Liſbon. The Duke of Schomberg was a better officer in the field, than in the cabinet; he did not enough know how to prepare for a campaign; he was both too unactive and too haughty; ſo it was thought neceſſary to ſend another to command: The Earl of Galway was judged the fitteſt perſon for that ſervice; he undertook it, more in ſubmiſſion to the Queen's commands, than out of any great proſpect or hopes of ſucceſs; things went on very heavily there; the diſtraction that the taking Gibraltar put the Spaniards in, as it occaſioned a diverſion of ſome of the Spaniſh forces, that lay on their frontier, ſo it

1704. furniſhed them with advantages, which they took no care to improve.

A fight at ſea. Rook, after he had ſupplied Gibraltar, ſailed again into the Mediterranean: And there he met the Count of Thouloufe, with the whole French fleet: They were ſuperior to the Engliſh in number, and had many gallies with them, that were of great uſe. Rook called a council of war, in which it was reſolved to engage them; there was not due care taken, to furniſh all the ſhips with a ſufficient quantity of powder, for ſome had waſted a great part of their ſtock of ammunition before Gibraltar, yet they had generally twenty-five rounds, and it had ſeldom happened, that ſo much powder was ſpent in an action at ſea. On the 12th of Auguſt, juſt ten days after the battle of Hockſted, the two fleets engaged: Shovel advanced with his ſquadron to a cloſe fight, for it was the maxim of our ſeamen to fight as near as they could; he had the advantage, and the ſquadron before him gave way: Rook fought at a greater diſtance; many broadſides paſſed, and the engagement continued till night parted them; ſome ſhips, that had ſpent all their ammunition, were forced on that account to go out of the line, and if the French had come to a new engagement next day, it might have been fatal, ſince many of our ſhips were without powder, whilſt others had enough and to ſpare.

In this long and hot action, there was no ſhip of either ſide, that was either taken, ſunk or burnt; we made a ſhew, the next day, of preparing for a ſecond engagement; but the enemy bore off, to the great joy of our fleet; the French ſuffered much in this action; and went into Toulon ſo diſabled, that they could not be put in a condition to go to ſea again in many months. They left the ſea, as the field of battle, to us; ſo the honour of the action remained with us; tho' the nation was not much lifted up, with the news of a drawn battle at ſea with the French. We were long without

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a certain account of this action; but the modesty, in which the King of France wrote of it, to the Archbishop of Paris, put us out of all fears; for whereas their style was very boasting of their successes, in this it was only said, that the action was to his advantage; from that cold expression we concluded the victory was on our side. 1704.

When the full account was sent home from our fleet, the partialities on both sides appeared very signally; the Tories magnified this, as a great victory, and in their addresses of congratulation to the Queen, they joined this with that which the Duke of Marlborough had gained at Hocksted. I understand nothing of sea-matters; and therefore cannot make a judgment in the point: I have heard men, skilled in those affairs, differ much in their sentiments of Rook's conduct in that action; some not only justifying but extolling it, as much as others condemned it. It was certainly ridiculous, to set forth the glory of so disputable an engagement, in the same words, with the successes we had by land: The fleet soon after sailed home for England, Leak being left with a squadron at Lisbon.

The Spaniards drew all the forces they had in Andalousia and Estremadura together, to retake Gibraltar; that army was commanded by the Duke of Villadarias; he had with him some French troops, with some engineers of that nation, who were chiefly relied on, and were sent from France to carry on the siege. This gave some disgust to the Spaniards, who were so fooliish in their pride, that tho' they could do nothing for themselves, and indeed knew not how to set about it, yet could not bear to be taught by others, or to see themselves out-done by them. The siege was continued for above four months, during which time the Prince of Hesse had many occasions given him to distinguish himself very eminently, both as to his courage, conduct, and indefatigable application. Convoys came frequently The siege of Gibraltar.

1704. quently from Liſbon, with ſupplies of men and proviſions; which the French were not able to hinder, or to intercept. Pointy at laſt came, with a ſquadron of twenty French ſhips, and lay long in the bay, trying what could be done by ſea, while the place was preſſed by land; upon that, a much ſtronger ſquadron was ſent from Liſbon, with a great body of men, and ſtores of all ſorts, to relieve the place and to raiſe the ſiege; and the court of France, not being ſatisfied with the conduct of the Spaniſh General, ſent Mareſchal Teſſé to carry on the ſiege with greater expedition. The Portugueze all this while made no uſe of the diverſion, given by the ſiege of Gibraltar; they made great demands on us; for England was now conſidered as a ſource, that could never be exhauſted: We granted all their demands, and a body of horſe was ſent to them at a vaſt charge. The King was in a very ill ſtate of health, occaſioned by diſorders in his youth; he had not been treated ſkilfully, ſo he was often relapſing, and was not in a condition to apply himſelf much to buſineſs: For ſome time, our Queen Dowager was ſet at the head of their councils; her adminiſtration was much commended, and ſhe was very careful of the Engliſh, and all their concerns.

Affairs in Italy.

In Italy the Duke of Savoy had a melancholy campaign, loſing place after place; but he ſupported his affairs with great conduct; and ſhewed a firmneſs in his misfortunes, beyond what could have been imagined: Verceil and Yvrea gave the Duke of Vendome the trouble of a tedious ſiege; they ſtood their ground as long as poſſible; the Duke of Savoy's army was not ſtrong enough to raiſe theſe ſieges, ſo both places fell in concluſion. The French had not troops both to carry on the war, and to leave garriſons in thoſe places, ſo they demoliſhed the fortifications; after they had ſucceeded ſo far, they ſat down before Verue, in the end of October. The Duke of Savoy poſted his army

army at Creſcentino, over againſt it, on the other ſide of the Po; he had a bridge of communication; he went often into the place, during the ſiege, to ſee and animate his men, and to give all neceſſary orders; the ſick and wounded were carried away, and freſh men put in their ſtead: This ſiege proved the moſt famous of all, that had been during the late wars; it laſted above five months, the garriſon being often changed, and always well ſupplied. The French army ſuffered much, by continuing the ſiege all the winter, and they were at a vaſt charge in carrying it on; the bridge of communication was, after many unſucceſsful attempts, at laſt cut off; and the Duke of Savoy being thus ſeparated from the place, retired to Chivaz, and left them to defend themſelves, as long as they could, which they did beyond what could in reaſon have been expected. The Duke of Savoy complained much of the Emperor's failing to make good his promiſes; but in a diſcourſe upon that ſubject, with the Queen's Envoy, he ſaid, tho' he was abandoned by his Allies, he would not abandon himſelf. 1704.

The poor people in the Cevennes ſuffered much this ſummer: It was not poſſible to come to them with ſupplies, till matters ſhould go better in Piedmont, of which there was then no proſpect; they were adviſed to preſerve themſelves the beſt they could: Marſhal Villars was ſent into the country, to manage them with a gentler hand; the ſevere methods, taken by thoſe formerly imployed, being now diſowned, he was ordered to treat with their leaders, and to offer them full liberty, to ſerve God in their own way, without diſturbance; they generally inclined to hearken to this: For they had now kept themſelves in a body, much longer than was thought poſſible, in their low and helpleſs ſtate; ſome of them capitulated, and took ſervice in the French army; but as ſoon as they came near the armies of the Allies, they deſerted, and went over to them, ſo that by all this practice, that And in the Cevennes.

1704. that fire was rather covered up at preſent, than quite extinguiſhed.

Affairs of Hungary.

The diſorders in Hungary had a deeper root, and a greater ſtrength; it was hoped, that the ruin of the Elector of Bavaria would have quite diſheartened them, and have diſpoſed them to accept of reaſonable terms; if the Emperor could have been prevailed on to offer them frankly, and immediately upon their firſt conſternation, after the conqueſt of Bavaria. There were great errors in the government of that kingdom; by a long courſe of oppreſſion and injuſtice, the Hungarians were grown ſavage and intractable; they ſaw they were both hated and deſpiſed by the Germans; the court of Vienna ſeemed to conſider them, as ſo many enemies, who were to be depreſſed, in order to their being extirpated; upon any pretence of plots their perſons were ſeized on, and their eſtates confiſcated: The Jeſuits were believed to have a great ſhare in all thoſe contrivances and proſecutions; and it was ſaid, that they purchaſed the confiſcated eſtates upon very eaſy terms; the nobility of Hungary ſeemed irreconcileable to the court of Vienna: On the other hand, thoſe of that court, who had theſe confiſcations aſſigned them, and knew that the reſtoring theſe would certainly be inſiſted on as a neceſſary article, in any treaty that might follow, did all they could to obſtruct ſuch a treaty. It was viſible that Ragotſki, who was at their head, aimed at the principality of Tranſylvania: And it was natural for the Hungarians to look on his arriving at that dignity, by which he could protect and aſſiſt them, as the beſt ſecurity they could have. On the other hand, the court of Vienna, being poſſeſſed of that principality, would not eaſily part with it. In the midſt of all this fermentation, a revolution happened in the Turkiſh empire: A new Sultan was ſet up. So all things were at a ſtand, till it might be known, what was to be expected from him. They were ſoon delivered

livered from this anxiety; for he ſent a Chiaus to the Court of Vienna, to aſſure them, that he was reſolved to maintain the peace in all points; and that he would give no aſſiſtance to the Malecontents. The court of Vienna being freed from thoſe apprehenſions, reſolved to carry on the war in Hungary, as vigorouſly as they could: This was imputed to a ſecret practice from France, on ſome of that court, and there were ſo many there, concerned in the confiſcations, that every propoſition that way was powerfully ſupported: Thus Italy was neglected, and the ſiege of Landau was ill ſupported; their chief ſtrength being imployed in Hungary. Yet when the miniſters of the Allies preſſed the opening a treaty with the Malecontents, the Emperor ſeemed willing to refer the arbitration of that matter to his Allies: But tho' it was fit to ſpeak in that ſtyle, yet no ſuch thing was deſigned. A treaty was opened, but when it was known that Zeiher had the chief management of it, there was no reaſon to expect any good effect of it: He was born a Proteſtant, a ſubject of the Palatinate, and was often employed by the Elector Charles Lewis, to negotiate affairs at the court of Vienna; he, ſeeing a proſpect of riſing in that court, changed his religion, and became a creature of the Jeſuits; and adhered ſteadily to all their intereſts. He managed that ſecret practice with the French, in the treaty of Ryſwick, by which the Proteſtants of the Palatinate ſuffered ſo conſiderable a Prejudice. The treaty in Hungary ſtuck at the Preliminaries; for indeed neither ſide was then inclined to treat; the Malecontents were ſupported from France; they were routed in ſeveral engagements, but theſe were not ſo conſiderable as the court of Vienna gave out, in their publick news; the Malecontents ſuffered much in them, but came ſoon together again, and they ſubſiſted ſo well, what by the mines, of which they had poſſeſſed themſelves, what by the incurſions they made, and the contributions 1704.

1704. butions they raiſed from the Emperor's ſubjects; that unleſs the war were carried on more vigorouſly, or a peace were offered more ſincerely, that kingdom was long like to be a ſcene of blood and rapine.

The affairs of Poland.

So was its neighbouring kingdom of Poland: It was hoped, that the talk of a new election was only a loud threatning, to force a peace the ſooner; but it proved otherwiſe: A diet was brought together of thoſe, who were irreconcileable to King Auguſtus, and after many delays, Staniſlaus, one of the Palatines, was choſen and proclaimed their King; and he was preſently owned by the King of Sweden. The Cardinal ſeemed at firſt unwilling to agree to this, but he ſuffered himſelf to be forced to it; this was believed to be only an artifice of his, to excuſe himſelf to the court of France, whoſe penſioner he was, and to whom he had engaged to carry the election for the Prince of Conti. The war went on this year, with various ſucceſs on both ſides; King Auguſtus made a quick march to Warſaw, where he ſurprized ſome of Staniſlaus's party, he himſelf eſcaping narrowly; but the King of Sweden followed ſo cloſe, that not being able to fight him, he was forced to retreat into Saxony, where he continued for ſome months: There he ruined his own dominions, by the great preparations he made, to return with a mighty force; the delay of that made many forſake his party; for it was given out, that he would return no more, and that he was weary of the war, and he had good reaſon ſo to be. Poland, in the mean while, was in a moſt miſerable condition; the King of Sweden ſubſiſted his army in it, and his temper grew daily more fierce and Gothick; he was reſolved to make no peace, till Auguſtus was driven out: In the mean while, his own country ſuffered much; Livonia was deſtroyed by the Muſcovites; they had taken Narva, and made ſome progreſſes into Sweden. The Pope eſpouſed the intereſts of King Auguſtus;

guſtus; for to ſupport a new convert of ſuch importance, was thought a point worthy the zeal of that ſee; ſo he cited the cardinal to appear at Rome, and to give an account of the ſhare he had in all that war. 1704.

The Pope was now wholly in the French intereſt, and maintained the character, they pretend to, of a common father, with ſo much partiality, that the emperor himſelf, how tame and ſubmiſſive ſoever to all the impoſitions of that ſee, yet could not bear it: but made loud complaints of it. The Pope had threatned, that he would thunder out excommunications againſt all thoſe troops, that ſhould continue in his dominions: The emperor was ſo implicit in his faith, and ſo ready in his obedience, that he ordered his troops to retire out of the eccleſiaſtical ſtate; but all the effect that this had, was to leave that ſtate entirely in the hands of the French, againſt whom the Pope did not think fit to fulminate; yet the Pope ſtill pretended that he would maintain a Neutrality, and both the Venetians and the Great Duke adhered to him in that reſolution, and continued neutral during the war. The Pope wholly in the French intereſt.

Having now given a view of the ſtate of affairs abroad; I return back to proſecute the relation of thoſe at home, and begin with Scotland. A Seſſion of Parliament was held there this ſummer: The Duke of Queenſbury's management of the plot was ſo liable to exception, that it was not thought fit to imploy him, and it ſeems he had likewiſe brought himſelf under the Queen's diſpleaſure; for it was propoſed by ſome of his friends in the Houſe of Lords, to deſire the Queen to communicate to them a letter, which he had wrote to her of ſuch a date: This looked like an examination of the Queen herſelf, to whom it ought to have been left, to ſend what letters ſhe thought fit to the Houſe, and they ought not to call for any one in particular. The matter of that letter made him liable to a very ſevere cenſure in Scotland: For in plain The affairs of Scotland.

1704. plain words he charged the majority of the Parliament, as determined in their proceedings, by an influence from St. Germains: This expoſed him in Scotland to the fury of a Parliament; for how true ſoever this might be, by the laws of that kingdom, ſuch a repreſentation of a Parliament to the Queen, eſpecially in matters which could not be proved, was leaſing-making, and was capital.

The chief deſign of the Court in this ſeſſion, was to get the ſucceſſion of the Crown to be declared, and a ſupply to be given for the army, which was run into a great arrear. In the debates of the former ſeſſion, thoſe who oppoſed every thing, more particularly the declaring the ſucceſſion, had inſiſted chiefly on motions to bring their own conſtitution to ſuch a ſettlement, that they might ſuffer no prejudice, by their King's living in England. Mr. Johnſtoun was now taken in by the miniſters into a new management: It was propoſed by him, in concert with the Marqueſs of Tweedale, and ſome others in Scotland, that the Queen ſhould empower her commiſſioner to conſent to a revival of the whole ſettlement, made by King Charles the firſt, in the year 1641.

By that, the King named a Privy Council and his miniſters of State in Parliament, who had a power to accept of, or to except to the nomination, without being bound to give the reaſon for excepting to it: In the intervals of Parliament, the King was to give all imployments, with the conſent of the Privy Council: This was the main point of that ſettlement, which was looked on by the wiſeſt men of that time, as a full ſecurity to all their laws and liberties: It did indeed diveſt the Crown of a great part of the prerogative; and it brought the Parliament into ſome equality with the Crown.

The Queen, upon the repreſentation made to her by her miniſters, offered this as a limitation on the ſucceſſor, in caſe they would ſettle the ſuc-

ceſſion, as England had done; and for doing this, the Marqueſs of Tweedale was named her commiſſioner. The Queen did alſo ſignify her pleaſure very poſitively to all who were imployed by her, that ſhe expected they ſhould concur in ſettling the ſucceſſion, as they deſired the continuance of her favour. Both the Duke of Marlborough and the Lord Godolphin expreſſed themſelves very fully and poſitively to the ſame purpoſe; yet it was dextrouſly ſurmized, and induſtriouſly ſet about by the Jacobites, and too eaſily believed by jealous and cautious people, that the court was not ſincere in this matter; and that at beſt they were indifferent as to the ſucceſs. Some went further, and ſaid, that thoſe who were in a particular confidence at Court, did ſecretly oppoſe it, and entred into a management on deſign to obſtruct it: I could never ſee any good ground for this ſuggeſtion; yet there was matter enough for jealouſy to work on, and this was carefully improved by the Jacobites, in order to defeat the deſign. Mr. Johnſtoun was made Lord Regiſter, and was ſent down to promote the deſign; the Jacobites were put in hopes, in caſe of a rupture, to have a conſiderable Force ſent to ſupport them from Dunkirk. 1704.

A Seſſion of Parliament being opened, and the ſpeeches made, and the Queen's letter read, all which tended to the ſettling the ſucceſſion, that was the firſt debate: A great party was now wrought on, when they underſtood the ſecurity, that was to be offered to them: For the wiſeſt patriots in that kingdom had always magnified that conſtitution, as the beſt contrived ſcheme that could be deſired: So they went in with great zeal, to the accepting of it. But thoſe who, in the former ſeſſion, had rejected all the motions of treating with England with ſome ſcorn, and had made this their conſtant topick, that they muſt in the firſt place ſecure their own conſtitution at home, and then they might truſt the reſt to time, and to ſuch accidents, as

1704. time might bring forth; now when they saw that every thing, that could be desired, was offered with relation to their own government; they (being resolved to oppose any declaration of the succession, what terms soever might be granted to obtain it) turned the argument wholly another way; to shew the necessity of a previous treaty with England. They were upon that told, that the Queen was ready to grant them every thing, that was reasonable, with relation to their own constitution, yet without the concurrence of the Parliament of England, she could grant nothing, in which England was concerned; for they were for demanding a share of the plantation-trade, and that their ships might be comprehended within the act of navigation.

Debates about the succession.

After a long debate, the main question was put, whether they should then enter upon the consideration of the limitations of the government, in order to the fixing the succession of the Crown, or if that should be postponed till they had obtained such a security, by a treaty with England, as they should judge necessary. It was carried by a majority of forty, to begin with a treaty with England: Of these, about thirty were in immediate dependence on the Court, and were determined according to the directions given them. So, notwithstanding a long and idle speech of the Earl of Cromarty's which was printed, running into a distinction among divines, between the revealed and secret will of God, shewing, that no such distinction could be applied to the Queen; she had but one Will, and that was revealed; yet it was still suspected, that at least her ministers had a secret will in the case. They went no further in this vote for a treaty with England; for they could not agree among themselves, who should be the commissioners, and those who opposed the declaring the succession, were concerned for no more, when that question was once set aside: So it was postponed, as a matter about which they took no further care.

The settling it put off for that session.

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They offered to the court ſix months ceſſe, for the pay of the army; but they tacked to this a great part of a bill which paſſed the former Seſſion of Parliament, but was refuſed by the throne: By that it was provided, that if the Queen ſhould die without Iſſue, a Parliament ſhould preſently meet, and they were to declare the ſucceſſor to the Crown, who ſhould not be the ſame perſon, that was poſſeſſed of the Crown of England, unleſs before that time there ſhould be a ſettlement made in Parliament, of the rights and liberties of the nation, independent on Engliſh councils. By another clauſe in the act, it was made lawful to arm the ſubjects, and to train them and put them in a poſture of defence. This was chiefly preſſed, in behalf of the beſt-affected in the kingdom, who were not armed; for the Highlanders, who were the worſt-affected, were well-armed; ſo to ballance that, it was moved, that leave ſhould be given to arm the reſt. All was carried with great heat and much vehemence; for a national humour, of being independent on England, fermented ſo ſtrongly, among all ſorts of people without doors, that thoſe, who went not into every hot motion, that was made, were looked on as the betrayers of their country: And they were ſo expoſed to a popular fury, that ſome of thoſe, who ſtudied to ſtop this tide, were thought to be in danger of their lives. The Preſbyterians were ſo over-awed with this, that tho' they wiſhed well to the ſettling the ſucceſſion, they durſt not openly declare it. The Dukes of Hamilton and Athol led all thoſe violent motions, and the whole nation was ſtrangely inflamed. 1704. A money-bill with a tack to it.

The miniſters were put to a great difficulty with the ſupply-bill, and the tack that was joined to it: If it was denied, the army could be no longer kept up: They had run ſo far in arrear, that conſidering the poverty of the country, that could not be carried on much longer. Some ſuggeſted, that it ſhould be propoſed to the Engliſh miniſtry, to ad-

1704. vance the ſubſiſtence money, till better meaſures could be taken; but none of the Scotch miniſtry would conſent to that. An army is reckoned to belong to thoſe who pay it: So an army paid from England, would be called an Engliſh army: Nor was it poſſible to manage ſuch a thing ſecretly. It was well known, that there was no money in the Scotch treaſury to pay them, ſo if money were once brought into the treaſury, how ſecretly ſoever, all men muſt conclude, that it came from England: And men's minds were then ſo full of the conceit of independency, that if a ſuſpicion aroſe of any ſuch practice, probably it would have occaſioned tumults: Even the army was ſo kindled with this, that it was believed, that neither officers nor ſoldiers would have taken their pay, if they had believed it came from England. It came then to this, that either the army muſt be diſbanded, or the bill muſt paſs: It is true, the army was a very ſmall one, not above 3000; but it was ſo ordered, that it was double or treble officer'd; ſo that it could have been eaſily encreaſed to a much greater number, if there had been occaſion for it. The officers had ſerved long, and were men of a good character: So, ſince they were alarmed with an invaſion, which both ſides looked for, and the intelligence, which the court had from France, aſſured them it was intended; they thought the inconveniences ariſing from the tack might be remedied afterwards: But the breaking of the army was ſuch a pernicious thing, and might end ſo fatally, that it was not to be ventured on. Therefore by common conſent, a letter was wrote to the Queen, which was ſigned by all the miniſters there, in which they laid the whole matter before her, every thing was ſtated and ballanced: All concluded in an humble advice to paſs the bill. This was very heavy on the Lord Godolphin, on whoſe advice the Queen chiefly relied: He ſaw the ill conſequences of breaking the army, and laying that kingdom open to an invaſion, would

The miniſters there adviſe the Queen to paſs it.

fall on him, if he ſhould, in contradiction to the advice given by the miniſtry of Scotland, have adviſed the Queen to reject the bill. This was under conſultation in the end of July, when our matters abroad were yet in a great uncertainty; for tho' the victory at Schellemberg was a good ſtep, yet the great deciſion was not then come: So he thought, conſidering the ſtate of affairs, and the accidents that might happen, that it was the ſafeſt thing for the Queen to comply with the advices of thoſe, to whom ſhe truſted the affairs of that kingdom. 1704.

The Queen ſent orders to paſs the bill: It paſs'd on the 6th of Auguſt, after the great battle was over, but ſeveral days before the news of it came to us. When the act paſſed, copies of it were ſent to England; where it was ſoon printed, by thoſe who were uneaſy at the Lord Godolphin's holding the white ſtaff, and reſolved to make uſe of this againſt him; for the whole blame of paſſing it was caſt on him. It was not poſſible to prove, that he had adviſed the Queen to it: ſo ſome took it by another handle, and reſolved to urge it againſt him, that he had not perſuaded the Queen to reject it: Tho' that ſeemed a great ſtretch, for he being a ſtranger to that kingdom, it might have been liable to more objection, if he had preſumed to adviſe the Queen, to refuſe a bill, paſs'd in the Parliament of Scotland, which all the miniſtry there adviſed her to paſs. It was paſs'd.

Severe cenſures paſſed on this. It was ſaid, that the two kingdoms were now divided by law, and that the Scotch were putting themſelves in a poſture to defend it; and all ſaw by whoſe advices this was done: One thing, that contributed to keep up an ill humour in the Parliament of Scotland, was more juſtly imputed to him: The Queen had promiſed to ſend down to them all the examinations relating to the plot: If theſe had been ſent down, probably in the firſt heat the matter might have been carried far againſt the Duke of Queenſbury. But he, Cenſures paſs'd upon it.

1704. who ſtaid all the while at London, got it to be repreſented to the Queen, that the ſending down theſe examinations, with the perſons concerned in them, would run the ſeſſion into ſo much heat, and into ſuch a length, that it would divert them quite from conſidering the ſucceſſion, and it might produce a tragical ſcene. Upon theſe ſuggeſtions, the Queen altered her reſolution of ſending them down; tho' repeated applications were made to her, both by the Parliament and by her miniſters, to have them ſent; yet no anſwer was made to theſe, nor was ſo much as an Excuſe made, for not ſending them. The Duke of Queenſbury having gained this point, got all his friends to join with the party that oppoſed the new miniſtry: This both defeated all their projects, and ſoftened the ſpirits of thoſe, who were ſo ſet againſt him, that in their firſt fury no ſtop could have been put to their proceedings: But now, the party that had deſigned to ruin him, was ſo much wrought on, by the aſſiſtance that his friends gave them in this ſeſſion, that they reſolved to preſerve him.

This was the ſtate of that nation, which was aggravated very odiouſly all England over: It was confidently, tho', as was afterwards known, very falſely reported, that great quantities of arms were brought over, and diſperſed thro' the whole kingdom: And it being well known how poor the nation was at that time, it was ſaid, that thoſe arms were paid for by other hands, in imitation of what it was believed cardinal Richelieu did, in the year 1638. Another thing was given out very maliciouſly, by the Lord Treaſurer's enemies, that he had given directions under-hand, to hinder the declaring the ſucceſſion, and that the ſecret of this was truſted to Johnſtoun, who they ſaid talked openly one way, and acted ſecretly another; tho' I could never ſee a colour of truth in thoſe reports. Great uſe was to be made of the affairs of Scotland; becauſe there was no ground of complaint of any thing

thing in the adminiſtration at home: All the Duke of Marlborough's enemies ſaw his chief ſtrength lay in the credit that the Lord Godolphin was in at home, while he was ſo ſucceſsful abroad: So it being impoſſible to attack him, in ſuch a courſe of glory, they laid their aims againſt the Lord Treaſurer. The Tories reſolved to attack him, and that diſpoſed the Whigs to preſerve him; and this was ſo managed by them, that it gave a great turn to all our councils at home. 1704.

In the beginning of November, the ſeſſion of Parliament was opened: It might well be expected, that after ſuch a ſummer, the addreſſes of both houſes would run in a very high ſtrain: The Houſe of Commons in their addreſs put the ſucceſſes by ſea and land on a level, and magnified both in the ſame expreſſions: But the Houſe of Lords in their addreſs took no notice of Rook nor of the ſea. The Lower Houſe of Convocation were reſolved to follow the example of the Houſe of Commons, and would have the ſea and land both mentioned in the ſame terms; but the Biſhops would not vary from the pattern ſet them by the Houſe of Lords; ſo no addreſs was made by the Convocation. The Commons agreed to every thing that the court propoſed, for ſupporting the war another year; this was carried through with great diſpatch and unanimity: So that the main buſineſs of the Seſſion was ſoon over; all the money-bills were prepared and carried on in the regular method, without any obſtruction: Thoſe who intended to embroil matters, ſaw it was not adviſeable to act above board, but to proceed more covertly. A ſeſſion of Parliament in England.

The act againſt Occaſional Conformity was again brought in, but moderated in ſeveral clauſes: For thoſe who preſt it, were now reſolved to bring the terms as low as was poſſible, in order once to carry a bill upon that head. The oppoſition in the Houſe of Commons made to it, was become ſo conſiderable 1705. The occaſional bill is again brought in; and endea-

1705. siderable (for the design was now more clearly discerned) that it was carried in that house only by a majority of fifty. When the bill was to be committed, it was moved, that it should be committed to the same Committee, which was preparing the bill for the land-tax: The design of this was, that the one should be tacked to the other, and then the Lords would have been put under a great difficulty. If they should untack the bill, and separate one from the other; then the House of Commons would have insisted on a maxim, that was now settled among them, as a fundamental principle never to be departed from, that the Lords cannot alter a money-bill, but must either pass it or reject it, as it is sent to them: On the other hand, the Lords could not agree to any such tack, without departing from that solemn resolution, which was in their books, signed by most of them, never to admit of a tack to a money-bill: If they yielded now, they taught the House of Commons the way to impose any thing on them at their pleasure.

voured to be tack'd to a money-bill.

The party in the House of Commons put their whole strength to the carrying this point: They went further in their design: That which was truly aimed at, by those in the secret, was to break the war, and to force a peace: They knew a bill with this tack could not pass in the House of Peers: Some Lords of their party told myself that they would never pass the bill with this tack, so by this means money would be stopped: This would put all matters in great confusion both at home and abroad; and dispose our Allies, as despairing of any help from us, to accept of such terms as France would offer them: So here was an artful design formed to break, at least to shake, the whole alliance. The court was very apprehensive of this, and the Lord Godolphin opposed it with much zeal: The party disowned the design for some time, 'till they had brought up their whole strength, and thought they were sure of a majority.

The

The debate held long: Thoſe who oppoſed it ſaid, this now aimed at was a change of the whole conſtitution; and was in effect turning it into a commonwealth: For it imported the denying, not only to the Lords, but to the Crown, the free uſe of their negative in the legiſlature; if this was once ſettled, then as often as the publick occaſions made a money-bill neceſſary, every thing that the majority in their houſe had a mind to, would be tacked to it. It is true ſome tacks had been made to money-bills in King Charles's time; but even theſe had ſtill ſome relation to the money that was given: But here a bill, whoſe operation was only for one year, and which determined as ſoon as the four ſhillings in the pound was paid, was to have a perpetual law tacked to it, that muſt continue ſtill in force, after the greateſt part of the act was expired and dead: To all this, in anſwer, ſome precedents were oppoſed, and the neceſſity of the bill for the preſervation of the Church was urged, which they ſaw was not like to paſs, unleſs ſent to the Lords ſo accompanied; which ſome thought was very wittily preſſed, by calling it a portion annexed to the Church, as in a marriage; and they ſaid they did not doubt but thoſe of the court would beſtir themſelves to get it paſſed, when it was accompanied with two millions as its price. 1705.

Upon the diviſion 134 were for the tack, and 250 were againſt it: So that deſign was loſt by thoſe, who had built all their hopes upon it, and were now highly offended with ſome of their own party, who had by their oppoſition wrought themſelves into good places, and forſook that intereſt, to which they owed their advancement: Theſe, to redeem themſelves with their old friends, ſeemed ſtill zealous for the bill, which after went on coldly and ſlowly in the Houſe of Commons, for they loſt all hopes of carrying it in the Houſe of Lords, now that the mine they had laid was ſprung. The tack was rejected.

While

1705. While this was going on in the Houſe of Commons, the debate about the Scotch act was taken up with great heat in the Houſe of Lords: The ill effects that were like to follow upon it were opened, in very tragical ſtrains: It was after much declaiming moved, that the Lords might paſs ſome votes upon it. The Tories who preſſed this, intended to add a ſevere vote againſt all thoſe who had adviſed it; and it was viſible at whom this was aimed. The Whigs diverted this: They ſaid the putting a vote againſt an act paſſed in Scotland, looked like the claiming ſome ſuperiority over them, which ſeemed very improper at that time, ſince that kingdom was poſſeſſed with a national jealouſy on this head, that would be much increaſed by ſuch a proceeding: More moderate methods were therefore propoſed and agreed to, in order to the making up of a breach in this iſland, with which they ſeemed to be then threatned. So an act was brought in, impowering the Queen to name commiſſioners to treat of a full union of both kingdoms, as ſoon as the Parliament of Scotland ſhould paſs an act to the ſame purpoſe: But if no ſuch union ſhould be agreed on, or if the ſame ſucceſſion to the crown, with that of England, ſhould not be enacted by a day prefixed, then it was enacted that after that day no Scotchman, that was not reſident in England or Ireland, or employed in the Queen's ſervice by ſea or land, ſhould be eſteemed a natural-born ſubject of England: They added to this, a prohibition of the importation of Scotch cattle, and the manufacture of Scotland: All this fell in the Houſe of Commons, when ſent down to them, becauſe of the money-penalties, which were put in the ſeveral clauſes of the bill. The Commons were reſolved to adhere to a notion, that had now taken ſuch root among them, that it could not be ſhaken, that the Lords could not put any ſuch clauſe in a bill begun with them: This was wholly new; penalties upon tranſgreſſions could not be conſtrued

Debates concerning Scotland.

to

to be a giving of money: The Lords were clearly in poſſeſſion of proceeding thus; ſo that the calling it in queſtion, was an attempt on the ſhare which the Lords had in the legiſlature: The Commons let this bill lie on the table, and began a new one to the ſame purpoſe; it paſſed: And the following Chriſtmas was the day prefixed for the Scotch to enact the ſucceſſion, or on failure thereof, then this act was to have its effect. A great coldneſs appeared in many of the Commons, who uſed to be hot on leſs important occaſions: They ſeemed not to deſire that the Scotch ſhould ſettle the ſucceſſion: And it was viſible, that ſome of them hoped, that the Lords would have uſed their bill, as they had uſed that ſent down by the Lords: Many of them were leſs concerned in the fate of the bill, becauſe it diverted the cenſure, which they had intended to fix on the Lord Treaſurer. The Lords were aware of this, and paſſed the bill. 1705.

Thoſe who wiſhed well to the union, were afraid that the prohibition, and the declaring the Scots aliens after the day prefixed, would be looked on as threatnings: And they ſaw cauſe to apprehend, that ill-tempered men in that kingdom, would uſe this as a handle to divert that nation, which was already much ſoured, from hearkning to any motion, that might tend to promote the union, or the declaring the ſucceſſion: It was given out by theſe, that this was an indignity done their kingdom, and that they ought not ſo much as to treat with a nation, that threatned them in ſuch a manner. The Marquis of Tweedale excuſed himſelf from ſerving longer; ſo the Duke of Argyle, whoſe father was lately dead, was named to be ſent down Commiſſioner to hold a Parliament in Scotland: He was then very young, and was very brave.

This being diſpatched eaſier than was expected, the Parliament went on to other buſineſs; complaints of an ill management both at the board of the Prince's Council, and at ſea roſe very high: Complaints of the Admiralty.

This

1705. This Houſe of Commons, during the whole continuance of the Parliament, never appointed a committee to look into thoſe matters, which had been formerly a main part of their care: They ſaw things were ill conducted, but the chief managers of ſea-affairs were men of their party, and that atoned for all faults, and made them unwilling to find them out, or to cenſure them: The truth was, the Prince was prevailed on to continue ſtill in the Admiralty, by thoſe who ſheltered themſelves under his name: Tho' this brought a great load on the government. The Lords went on as they had done the former ſeſſion, examining into all complaints: They named two committees, the one to examine the books of the Admiralty, the other to conſider the proceedings at ſea: No progreſs was made in the firſt of theſe; for tho' there was a great deal ſuggeſted in private, yet ſince this ſeemed to be complaining of the Prince, none would appear directly againſt him: But the other afforded matter enough, both for enquiry and cenſure: The moſt important, and that which had the worſt conſequences was, that tho' there were 22 ſhips appointed for cruiſing, yet they had followed that ſervice ſo remiſsly, and the orders ſent them were ſo languid, and ſo little urgent, that three diligent cruiſing ſhips could have performed all the ſervices done by that numerous fleet: This was made out in a ſcheme, in which all the days of their being out at ſea were reckoned up, which did not exceed what three cruiſers might have performed. It did not appear, whether this was only the effect of ſloth or ignorance, or if there lay any deſigned treachery at bottom: It ſeemed very plain, that there was treachery ſomewhere, at leaſt among the under-officers: For a French privateer being taken, they found among his papers inſtructions ſent him by his owners, in which he was directed to lie in ſome ſtations, and to avoid others: And it happened that this agreed ſo exactly with the orders ſent from the Admiralty,

admiralty, that it ſeemed that could not be by chance, but that the directions were ſent, upon ſight of the orders. The Queen began this winter to come to the houſe of Lords upon great occaſions to hear their debates, which as it was of good uſe for her better information, ſo it was very ſerviceable in bringing the houſe into better order. The firſt time ſhe came, was when the debate was taken up concerning the Scotch act: ſhe knew the Lord Treaſurer was aimed at by it, and ſhe diverted the ſtorm by her endeavours, as well as ſhe reſtrained it by her preſence. 1705.

The bill againſt occaſional conformity debated and rejected by the Lords.

She came likewiſe thither to hear the debates upon the bill againſt occaſional conformity, which was ſent up by the commons; if it had not been for the Queen's being preſent, there would have been no long debate on that head, for it was ſcarce poſſible to ſay much, that had not been formerly ſaid; but to give the Queen full information, ſince it was ſuppoſed, that ſhe had heard that matter only on one ſide, it was reſolved to open the whole matter in her hearing: the topicks moſt inſiſted on were, the quiet that we enjoyed by the toleration, on which head the ſeverities of former reigns were laid open, both in their injuſtice, cruelty, and their being managed only to advance popery, and other bad deſigns: the peaceable behaviour of the diſſenters, and the zeal they expreſſed for the Queen, and her government, was alſo copiouſly ſet forth; while others ſhewed a malignity to it. That which was chiefly urged was, that every new law made in the matter, altered the ſtate of things, from what it was, when the act for toleration firſt paſſed; this gave the diſſenters an alarm, they might from thence juſtly conclude, that one ſtep would be made after another, 'till the whole effect of that act ſhould be overturned. It did not appear from the behaviour of any among them, that they were not contented with the toleration they enjoyed, or that they were carrying on deſigns againſt the church: in that caſe it might be

1705. be reasonable to look for a farther security, but nothing tending that way, was so much as pretended: all went on jealousies and fears, the common topicks of sedition. On the other hand, to support the bill, old stories were brought up to shew, how restless and unquiet that sort of men had been in former times. When it came to the question, whether the bill should be read a second time or not, it went for the negative by a majority of 20 Lords.

Bishop Watson's practices.

Another debate, that brought the Queen to the house, was concerning Watson, late Lord bishop of St. David's: his business had been kept long on foot in the courts below, by all the methods of delay that lawyers could invent: after five years pleading the concluding judgment was given in the Exchequer, that he had no right to the temporalities of that bishoprick: and that being affirmed in the Exchequer-chamber, it was now by a writ of error, brought before the Lords, in the last resort: but as the house seemed now to be set, he had no mind to let it go to a final decision: so he delayed the assigning the errors of the judgment, 'till the days were lapsed, in which, according to a standing order, errors ought to be assigned, upon a writ of error: in default of which, the record was to be sent back. He suffered the time to lapse, tho' particular notice was ordered to be given him, on the last day, in which, according to the standing order, he might have assigned his errors: and the house sate that day some hours on purpose waiting for it. Some weeks after that, when the session was so near an end, that he thought his cause could not be heard during the session, and so must in course have been put off to another session, he petitioned for leave to assign his errors: this was one of the most solemn orders, that related to the judicature of the Lords, and had been the most constantly stood to: it was not therefore thought reasonable to break through it, in favour of so bad a man, of whom they were all ashamed, if parties could have any shame: he had affected,

in every ſtep he had made, to ſeek out all poſſible delays, for keeping the ſee ſtill void, which by reaſon of a bad biſhop and a long vacancy, was fallen into great diſorder: yet after all this, he had ſtill by law the benefit of a writ of error, which he might bring in any ſubſequent ſeſſion of parliament. 1705.

Upon this the Queen reſolved to fill that ſee: and ſhe promoted to it, the celebrated Dr. Bull, who had writ the learnedeſt treatiſe, that this age had produced, of the doctrine of the primitive church concerning the Trinity: this had been ſo well received all Europe over, that in an aſſembly general of the clergy of France, the biſhop of Meaux was deſired to write over to a correſpondent he had in London, that they had ſuch a ſenſe of the ſervice he had done their common faith, that upon it they ſent him their particular thanks; I read the letter, and ſo I can deliver it for a certain truth, how uncommon ſoever it may ſeem to be. The Queen had a little before this promoted Dr. Beveridge to the ſee of St. Aſaph, who had ſhewed himſelf very learned in eccleſiaſtical knowledge. They were both pious and devout men, but were now declining; both of them being old, and not like to hold out long. Soon after this the ſee of Lincoln became vacant by that biſhop's death: Dr. Wake was after ſome time promoted to it: A man eminently learned, an excellent writer, a good preacher, and, which is above all, a man of an exemplary life. Some promotions in the church.

A deſign was formed in this ſeſſion of parliament, but there was not ſtrength enough to carry it on at this time, the earl of Rocheſter gave a hint of it in the houſe of Lords, by ſaying that he had a motion of great conſequence to the ſecurity of the nation, which he would not make at this time, but would do it when next they ſhould meet together. He ſaid no more to the houſe, but in private diſcourſe he owned it was for bringing over the electoreſs of Hanover to live in England: upon this I will digreſs a little, to open the deſign and the views, Deſigns with relation to the electoreſs of Hanover.

1705. views, which he and ſome others might have in this motion.

It ſeemed not natural to believe that a party, which had been all along backward at beſt, and cold in every ſtep that was made in ſettling the ſucceſſion in that family, ſhould become all on the ſudden, ſuch converts as to be zealous for it; ſo it was not an unreaſonable jealouſy to ſuſpect, that ſomewhat lay hid under it: It was thought that they either knew, or did apprehend, that this would not be acceptable to the Queen; and they, being highly diſpleaſed with the meaſures ſhe took, went into this deſign both to vex her, and in hopes that a faction might ariſe out of it, which might breed a diſtraction in our councils, and ſome of them might hope thereby to revive the Prince of Wales's pretenſions. They reckoned ſuch a motion would be popular: and if either the court or the whigs, on whom the court was now beginning to look more favourably, ſhould oppoſe it, this would caſt a load on them as men, who after all the zeal they had expreſſed for that ſucceſſion, did now, upon the hopes of favour at court, throw it up: and thoſe who had been hitherto conſidered as the enemies of that houſe, might hope by this motion to overcome all the prejudices, that the nation had taken up againſt them; and they might create a merit to themſelves in the minds of that family, by this early zeal, which they reſolved now to expreſs for it.

This was ſet on foot among all the party: But the more ſincere among them could not be prevailed on to act ſo falſe a part, tho' they were told this was the likelieſt way, to advance the pretended Prince of Wales's intereſts.

The houſe of commons committed to priſon ſome of the men of Aileſbury.

I now come to give an account of the laſt buſineſs of this ſeſſion, with which the parliament ended; it was formerly told, what proceedings had been at law upon the election at Aileſbury; the judgment that the Lords gave in that matter was executed, and upon that five others of the inhabitants brought their actions

actions againſt the conſtables, upon the ſame grounds. The Houſe of Commons looked on this as a great contempt of their votes, and they voted this a breach of privilege, to which they added a new, and 'till then unheard-of crime, that it was contrary to the declaration that they had made; upon that they ſent their meſſenger for theſe five men, and committed them to Newgate, where they lay three months priſoners; they were all the while well-ſupplied and much viſited; ſo they lay without making any application to the Houſe of Commons: it was not thought adviſable to move in ſuch a matter, 'till all the money-bills were paſſed; then motions were made, in the interval between the terms, upon the ſtatute for a Habeas Corpus; but the ſtatute relating only to commitments by the royal authority, this did not lie within it. 1705.

When the term came, a motion was made in the Queen's bench upon the common-law, in behalf of the priſoners for a Habeas Corpus; the lawyers who moved it, produced the commitment, in which their offence was ſet forth, that they had claimed the benefit of the law in oppoſition to a vote of the Houſe of Commons to the contrary; they ſaid the ſubjects were governed by the laws, which they might, and were bound to know, and not by the votes of a houſe of parliament, which they were neither bound to know, nor to obey: three of the Judges were of opinion, that the court could take no cognizance of that matter; the Chief-Juſtice was of another mind; he thought a general warrant of commitment for breach of privilege was of the nature of an execution; and ſince the ground of the commitment was ſpecified in the warrant, he thought it plainly appeared, that the priſoners had been guilty of no legal offence, and that therefore they ought to be diſcharged: he was but one againſt three, ſo the priſoners were remanded.

Upon that they moved for a writ of error, to bring the matter before the Lords; that was only to

1705. be come at, by petitioning the Queen to order it: The Commons were alarmed at this, and made an addreſs to the Queen, ſetting forth, that they had paſſed all the money-bills, therefore they hoped her Majeſty would not grant this. Ten Judges agreed, that in civil matters a petition for a writ of error was a petition of right, and not of grace; two of them only were of another mind; it was therefore thought a very ſtrange thing, which might have moſt pernicious conſequences, for a Houſe of Commons to deſire the Queen, not to grant a petition of right, which was plainly a breach of law and of her coronation-oath; they alſo took on them to affirm, that the writ did not lie; tho' that was clearly the work of the Judicature to declare, whether it lay or not, and that was unqueſtionably the right of the Lords; they only could determine that; the ſupplying the publick occaſions was a ſtrange conſideration to be offered the Queen, as an argument to perſuade her to act againſt law: as if they had pretended that they had bribed her to infringe the law; and to deny juſtice: Money given for publick ſervice was given to the country, and to themſelves, as properly as to the Queen.

The Queen anſwered their addreſs, and in it ſaid, that the ſtopping proceedings at law, was a matter of ſuch conſequence, that ſhe muſt conſider well of it: This was thought ſo cold, that they returned her no thanks for it; tho' a well-compoſed Houſe of Commons would certainly have thanked her, for that tender regard to law and juſtice. The Houſe of Commons carried their anger farther; they ordered the priſoners to be taken out of Newgate, and to be kept by their ſerjeant; they alſo ordered the lawyers and the ſollicitors to be taken into cuſtody, for appearing in behalf of the priſoners: Theſe were ſuch ſtrange and unheard-of proceedings, that by them the minds of all people were much alienated from the Houſe of Commons. But the priſoners were under ſuch management, and ſo well ſupported,

ed, that they would not submit nor ask pardon of the house; it was generally believed, that they were supplied and managed by the Lord Wharton; they petitioned the House of Lords for relief; and the Lords resolved to proceed in the matter, by sure and regular steps: They first came to some general resolutions; that neither house of parliament could assume or create any new privilege, that they had not been formerly possessed of; that subjects claiming their rights in a course of law, against those who had no privilege, could not be a breach of privilege of either house; that the imprisoning the men of Ailesbury, for acting contrary to a declaration made by the House of Commons, was against law; that the committing their friends and their counsel for assisting them, in order to the procuring their liberty in a legal way, was contrary to law; and that the writ of error could not be denied without breaking the Magna Charta and the laws of England. These resolutions were communicated to the House of Commons at a conference. 1705.

They made a long answer to them: In it they set forth, that the right of determining elections was lodged only with them, and that therefore they only could judge who had a right to elect; they only were the Judges of their own privileges, the Lords could not intermeddle in it; they quoted very copiously the proceedings in the year 1675, upon an appeal brought against a member of their House; they said their prisoners ought only to apply themselves to them for their liberty; and that no motion had ever been made for a writ of error in such a case. Upon this second conference according to form, the matter was brought to a free conference, where the point was fully argued on both sides; the city and the body of the nation were on the Lords side in the matter. Upon this, the Lords drew up a full representation of the whole thing, and laid it before the Queen, with an earnest prayer to her Majesty, to give order for the writ of error; this

1705. was thought ſo well drawn, that ſome preferred it to thoſe of the former ſeſſions; it contained a long and clear deduction of the whole affair, with great decency of ſtyle, but with many heavy reflections on the Houſe of Commons.

By this time the whole buſineſs of the ſeſſion was brought to a concluſion; for the Lords, who had the money-bills, would not paſs them, 'till this was ended: They carried their repreſentation to the Queen, who in anſwer to it told them, that ſhe would have granted the writ of error, but ſhe ſaw it was neceſſary to put a preſent concluſion to the ſeſſion. This being reported to the Houſe, was looked on by them as a clear deciſion in their favour; therefore they ordered their humble thanks to be immediately returned to her Majeſty for it: An hour after that, the Queen came to the Houſe of Lords, and paſſed all the bills, and ended the ſeſſion, with a ſpeech full of thanks for the ſupplies ſo readily granted; ſhe took notice with regret of the effects of the ill-humour and animoſity, that had appeared; and ſpoke of the narrow eſcape we had made, which ſhe hoped would teach all perſons to avoid ſuch dangerous experiments for the future; this was univerſally underſtood to be meant of the Tack, as indeed it could be meant of nothing elſe.

The end of the Parliament.

Thus this ſeſſion, and with it this Parliament came to an end: it was no ſmall bleſſing to the Queen, and to the nation, that they got well out of ſuch hands: They had diſcovered, on many occaſions, and very manifeſtly, what lay at bottom with moſt of them; but they had not ſkill enough to know how to manage their advantages, and to make uſe of their numbers; the conſtant ſucceſſes, with which God had bleſſed the Queen's reign, put it out of their power to compaſs that, which was aimed at by them; the forcing a peace, and of conſequence the delivering all up to France. Sir Chriſtopher Muſgrave, the wiſeſt man of the party, died before the laſt ſeſſion; and by their conduct after

after his death, it appeared, that they wanted his direction: He had been at the head of the oppo- 1705.
sition, that was made in the laſt reign from the beginning to the end; but he gave up many points of great importance in the critical minute, for which I had good reaſon to believe, that he had 12000 pounds from the late King, at different times: At his death it appeared, that he was much richer, than by any viſible computation he could be valued at: Which made ſome caſt an imputation on his memory, as if he had received great ſums even from France.

I ſhall conclude the relation of this Parliament with an account of ſome things, that were begun, but not perfected by them: There was a bill offered for the naturalization of ſome hundreds of Frenchmen, to which the Commons added a clauſe, diſabling the perſons ſo naturalized, from voting in elections of Parliament; the true reaſon of this was, becauſe it was obſerved that the French among us gave in all elections their votes, for thoſe who were moſt zealous againſt France: and yet, with an apparent diſingenuity, ſome gave it as a reaſon for ſuch a clauſe, that they muſt be ſuppoſed ſo partial to the intereſts of their own country, that it was not fit to give them any ſhare in our government. The Lords looked on this as a new attempt, and the clauſe added was a plain contradiction to the body of the bill, which gave them all the rights of natural-born ſubjects; and this took from them the chief of them all, the chuſing their repreſentatives in Parliament: They would not agree to it, and the Commons reſolved not to depart from it; ſo without coming to a free conference, the bill fell with the ſeſſion. Bills that were not paſſed.

Another bill was begun by the Lords againſt the Papiſts: It was occaſioned by ſeveral complaints brought from many parts of the kingdom, chiefly from Cheſhire, of the practices and inſolence of thoſe of that religion: So a bill was ordered to

1705. be brought in, with clauſes in it, that would have made the act, paſſed againſt them four years before, prove effectual; which for want of theſe, has hitherto been of no effect at all: This paſſed in the Houſe of Lords, and was ſent to the Commons. They had no mind to paſs it; but to avoid the ill effects of their refuſing ſuch a bill, they added a clauſe to it, containing ſevere penalties on Papiſts who ſhould once take the oaths, and come into the communion of our church, if they ſhould be guilty of any occaſional conformity with Popery afterwards: They fancied that this of occaſional conformity was ſo odious to the Lords, that every clauſe that condemned it, would be rejected by them: But when they came to underſtand that the Lords were reſolved to agree to the clauſe, they would not put it to that hazard: So the bill lay on their table, and ſlept 'till the prorogation.

A general ſelf-denying bill was offered in the Houſe of Commons, by thoſe very men, who in the firſt Seſſion of Parliament, when they hoped for places themſelves, had oppoſed the motion of ſuch a bill with great indignation: Now the ſcene was a little altered, they ſaw they were not like to be favourites, ſo they pretended to be Patriots. This looked ſo ſtrangely in them, that it was rejected: But another bill of a more reſtrained nature paſſed, diſabling ſome officers, particularly thoſe that were concerned in the prize-office, from ſerving in Parliament: To this a general clauſe was added, that diſabled all who held any office, that had been created ſince the year 1684, or any office that ſhould be created for the future, from ſitting in Parliament: This paſſed among them, and was ſent to the Lords; who did not think fit to agree to ſo general a clauſe, but conſented to a particular diſability, put on ſome offices by name: The Commons did not agree to this alteration; they would have all or nothing: So the bill fell.

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The concluſion of the Parliament ſet the whole nation in a general ferment; both ſides ſtudied how to diſpoſe people's minds in the new elections, with great induſtry and zeal: All people looked on the affairs of France, as reduced to ſuch a ſtate, that the war could not run beyond the period of the next Parliament: A well-choſen one muſt prove a publick bleſſing, not only to England, but to all Europe; as a bad one would be fatal to us at home, as well as to our allies abroad: The affairs of France were run very low: All methods of raiſing money were now exhauſted, and could afford no great ſupplies: So, in imitation of our Exchequer-bills, they began to give out mint-bills; but they could not create that confidence, which is juſtly put in parliamentary credit. The French had hopes from their party here in England, and there was a diſjointing in the ſeveral provinces of the United Netherlands: But as long as we were firm and united, we had a great influence on the States, at leaſt to keep things entire during the war: So it was viſible that a good election in England, muſt give ſuch a proſpect for three years, as would have a great influence on all the affairs of Europe. 1705.

Proceedings in the Convocation.

I muſt, before I end the relation of the Parliament, ſay ſomewhat of the Convocation, that attended upon it, tho' it was then ſo little conſidered, that ſcarce any notice was taken of them, and they deſerved that no mention ſhould be made of them. The lower houſe continued to proceed with much indecent violence: They ſtill held their intermediate ſeſſions, and brought up injurious and reflecting addreſſes to the upper houſe, which gave a very large exerciſe to the patience and forbearance of the Archbiſhop and Biſhops; the Archbiſhop, after he had born long with their perverſeneſs, and ſaw no good effect of it, proceeded to an eccleſiaſtical monition againſt their intermediate meetings: This put a ſtop to that, for they would

1705. not venture on the cenſures, that muſt in courſe follow, if no regard was had to the monition. At the final prorogation, the Archbiſhop diſmiſſed them with a wiſe well-compoſed ſpeech; he laid open to them their indecent behaviour, and the many wrong ſteps they had made; to this he added a ſevere, but grave reprimand, with much good advice. The governing men among them were headſtrong and factious, and deſigned to force themſelves into preferments, by the noiſe they made, and by the ill humour that they endeavoured to ſpread among the clergy, who were generally ſoured, even with relation to the Queen herſelf, beyond what could be imagined poſſible.

Now having given a full relation of our counſels and other affairs at home, I ſhall next conſider the progreſs of thoſe abroad. The firſt operation of the campaign was before Gibraltar: Leak was ſailing from Liſbon thither, and as he went out he met Dilks, who was ſent from England, to encreaſe his force; by this addition he had a ſtrong fleet of 30 men of war, ſo he held on his courſe with all expedition, hoping to find Pointy in the bay of Gibraltar; but a great ſtorm had blown all, but five ſhips, up the Mediterranean. Pointy remained only with theſe, when he was ſurpriſed by Leak, who did quickly overpower him, and took three capital ſhips; the other two, that were the greateſt of them, were run aſhore, and burnt near Marbella. Leak ſailed to the Levant, to ſee if he could overtake thoſe ſhips, that the wind had driven from the reſt; but after a fruitleſs purſuit for ſome days, he returned back to Gibraltar: That garriſon was now ſo well ſupplied, that the Spaniards loſt all hopes of being able to take it; ſo they raiſed the Siege, turning it into a very feeble blockade. This advantage came at the ſame time that Verue was loſt, to ballance it.

The Siege of Gibraltar raiſed.

Now the campaign was to be opened, the Duke of Marlborough deſigned that the Moſelle ſhould be

be the ſcene of action, and care had been taken to lay up Magazines of all ſorts in Triers: The States conſented, that he ſhould carry the greateſt part of their army to the Moſelle, and reſolved to lie on the defenſive upon their own frontiers; for they reckoned that how ſtrong ſoever the Elector of Bavaria's army was at that time, yet whenſoever France ſhould be preſſed, with ſo great a force as they reckoned would be on the Moſelle, he would be ordered to ſend ſuch detachments thither, that his army would be quickly diminiſhed, and ſo would not have the ſuperior ſtrength long. Prince Lewis of Baden ſeemed to like this ſcheme of the campaign ſo well, and had concurred ſo cordially in the concert of it, during the winter, that no doubt was made of his being both able and willing, to enter upon this new ſcene of the war: But as the Duke of Marlborough was ſetting out, depending on his concurrence, he received an expreſs from him, excuſing himſelf both on his own want of health, and becauſe the force he had about him was not conſiderable, nor was that, which he expected, like to come to him ſo ſoon as might be wiſhed for. This could not ſtop the Duke of Marlborough, who had ſet his heart on opening the campaign in thoſe parts, and had great hopes of ſucceſs: So he reſolved to puſh the matter, as far as he could. He went to the Prince of Baden to concert matters with him; whoſe ill health ſeemed only to be a pretence: It was true, that the Princes and circles of the empire had not ſent in their quotas, but it appeared that there was already ſtrengh enough, in conjunction with the army, that the Duke of Marlborough was to bring, to advance, and open the campaign with great advantage, at leaſt 'till detachments ſhould come from other parts: The Prince of Baden at laſt conſented to this, and promiſed to follow, with all the forces he could bring.

1705. The Duke of Marlborough marched to Triers.

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1705. The Duke of Marlborough was ſo ſatisfied with theſe aſſurances, that he came back to his army, and quickened their march, ſo that he brought them to Triers; and he advanced eight leagues further, through ſo many defilés, that the French might eaſily have made his march both dangerous and difficult. He poſted himſelf very near Mareſchal Villars's camp, not doubting but that the Prince of Baden would quickly follow him: Inſtead of that, he repeated his former excuſe of want of health and force. That which gave the worſt ſuſpicions of him was, that it appeared plainly, that the French knew what he intended to do, and their management ſhewed they depended on it; for they ordered no detachments to encreaſe M. Villars's army: On the contrary, the Elector of Bavaria, having the ſuperior force, preſſed the States on their frontier. Huy was beſieged and taken, after it had beyond all expectation held out ten days: Liege was attacked next; the town was taken, but the citadel held out. Upon this, the States ſent to the Duke of Marlborough to march back with all poſſible haſte; he had then eat up the forage round about him, and was out of all hope, of the Prince of Baden's coming to join him; ſo he ſaw the neceſſity of marching back, after he had loſt ſome weeks in a fruitleſs attempt: He made ſuch haſte in his march, that he loſt many of his men in the way, by fatigue and deſertion; the French gave him no trouble, neither while he lay ſo near their camp, nor when he drew off, to march away with ſo much haſte. To compleat the ill conduct of the Germans, thoſe who were left with the Magazines at Triers, pretending danger, deſtroyed them all, and abandoning Triers, retired back to the Rhine.

Expecting the Prince of Baden.

Who failed him.

The Prince of Baden's conduct through this whole matter was liable to great cenſure: The worſt ſuſpicion was, that he was corrupted by the French. Thoſe who did not carry their cenſure ſo

far, attributed his acting as he did to his pride, and thought he, envying the Duke of Marlborough, and apprehending that the whole glory of the campaign would be aſcribed to him, ſince he had the ſtronger army, choſe rather to defeat the whole deſign, than ſee another carry away the chief honour of any ſucceſſes, that might have happened. The Duke of Marlborough came back in good time to raiſe the ſiege of the citadel of Liege; and he retook Huy in three days: After that, in conjunction with the Dutch army, he advanced towards the French lines: He for ſome days amuſed them with feints; at laſt he made the attack, where he had deſigned it, and broke through the lines, and gave a great defeat to the body of the French that defended them, with the loſs only of ſeven men on his ſide; and ſo without more oppoſition he came very near Louvain, the Dyle running between his camp and the town: A deluge of rain fell that night, and ſwelled the Dyle ſo, that it was not poſſible to paſs it. This gave the French time to recover themſelves out of the firſt conſternation, that the advantages he had gained put them in: After a few days, when the paſſing the Dyle was practicable, the Duke of Marlborough gave orders for it: But the French were poſted with ſo much advantage on the other ſide, that the Dutch Generals perſuaded the deputies of the States, that they muſt run a great riſque, if they ſhould venture to force the paſſage. The Duke of Marlborough was not a little mortified with this, but he bore it calmly, and moved another way. After ſome few motions, another occaſion was offered, which he intended to lay hold on: Orders were given to force the paſſage; but a motion through a wood, that was thought neceſſary to ſupport that, was not believed practicable: So the deputies of the States were again poſſeſſed with the danger of the attempt; and they thought their affairs were in ſo good a condition,

1705.

The Duke of Marlborough broke thro' the French lines.

The Dutch would not venture a battle.

1705. dition, that such a desperate undertaking, as that seemed to be, was not to be ventured on.

This was very uneasy to the Duke, but he was forced to submit to it, tho' very unwillingly: All agreed that the enterprize was bold and doubtful; some thought it must have succeeded, though with some loss at first; and that if it had succeeded, it might have proved a decisive action; others indeed looked on it as too desperate. A great breach was like to arise upon this, both in the army, and among the States at the Hague, and in the towns of Holland, in Amsterdam in particular; where the burghers came in a body to the Stadthouse, complaining of the deputies, and that the Duke of Marlborough had not fuller powers.

I can give no judgment in so nice a point, in which military men were of very different opinions, some justifying the Duke of Marlborough, as much as others censured him: He shewed great temper on this occasion, and though it gave him a very sensible trouble, yet he set himself to calm all the heat, that was raised upon it. The campaign in Flanders produced nothing after this, but fruitless marches, while our troops were subsisted in the enemy's country, 'till the time came of going into winter-quarters. Prince Lewis's backwardness, and the caution of the deputies of the States, made this campaign less glorious than was expected; for I never knew the Duke of Marlborough go out so full of hopes, as in the beginning of it: But things had not answered his expectation.

The Emperor's death and character.

This summer the Emperor Leopold died: He was the most knowing and the most virtuous Prince of his communion; only he wanted the judgment that was necessary for conducting great affairs, in such critical times: He was almost always betrayed, and yet he was so firm to those, who had the address to insinuate themselves into his good opinion and confidence, that it was not possible to let him see those miscarriages, that ruined his affairs

fairs so often, and brought them sometimes near the last extremities: Of these every body else seemed more sensible than he himself. He was devout and strict in his religion, and was so implicit in his submission to those priests, who had credit with him, the Jesuits in particular, that he owed all his troubles to their counsels. The persecution they began in Hungary raised one great war; which gave the Turks occasion to besiege Vienna, by which he was almost entirely swallowed up: This danger did not produce more caution; after the peace of Carlowitz, there was so much violence and oppression in the government of Hungary, both of Papists and Protestants, that this raised a second war there, which, in conjunction with the revolt of the Elector of Bavaria, brought him a second time very near utter ruin: Yet he could never be prevailed on, either to punish, or so much as to suspect those, who had so fatally entangled his affairs; that without foreign aid nothing could have extricated them. He was naturally merciful to a fault, for even the punishment of criminals was uneasy to him: Yet all the cruelty in the persecution of hereticks seemed to raise no relenting in him. It could not but be observed by all Protestants, how much the ill influence of the Popish Religion appeared in him, who was one of the mildest and most virtuous Princes of the age, since cruelty in the matters of religion had a full course under him, though it was as contrary to his natural temper, as it was to his interests, and proved oftner than once almost fatal to all his affairs. His son Joseph, elected King of the Romans, succeeded him both in his hereditary and elective dignities: It was given out, that he would apply himself much to business, and would avoid those rocks on which his father had struck, and almost split; and correct those errors to which his father's easiness had exposed him: He promised to those ministers, that the Queen and the States had in his court, that he would offer all rea- 1705.

1705. reaſonable terms to the Hungarians: And he conſented to their ſetting a treaty on foot, in which they were to be the mediators, and become the guarantees for the obſervance of ſuch articles, as ſhould be agreed on; and he gave great hopes, that he would not continue in that ſubjection to the prieſts, with which his father had been captivated.

He deſired to confer with the Duke of Marlborough, and to concert all affairs with him: The Queen conſented to this, and the Duke went to Vienna, where he was treated with great freedom and confidence, and he had all aſſurances given him, that could be given in words: He found, that the Emperor was highly diſſatisfied with the Prince of Baden, but he had ſuch credit in the Empire, eſpecially with the circles of Suabia and Franconia, that it was neceſſary to bear with that, which could not be helped. The Duke of Marlborough returned through the hereditary dominions to Berlin, where he had learned ſo perfectly to accommodate himſelf to that King's temper, that he ſucceeded in every thing he propoſed, and renewed all treaties for one year longer. He came from thence to the court of Hanover, and there he gave them full aſſurances of the Queen's adhering firmly to their intereſts, in maintaining the ſucceſſion to the crown in their family, with which the Elector was fully ſatisfied: But it appeared that the Electoreſs had a mind, to be invited over to England. From thence he came back to Holland, and it was near the end of the year before he came over to England. Thus I have caſt all that relates to him, in one continued ſeries, though it ran out into a courſe of many months.

Affairs in Germany. The German army was not brought together before Auguſt: It was a very brave one, yet it did not much; the French gave way, and retired before them: Haguenaw and ſome other places were left by the French, and poſſeſſed by the Imperialiſts:

A block-

A blockade was laid to Fort Lewis. But nothing was done by that noble army, equal either to their numbers and ſtrength, or to the reputation that the Prince of Baden had formerly acquired. This was contrary to the general expectation; for it was thought, that being at the head of ſo great an army, he would have ſtudied to have ſignalized himſelf, if it had been but to rival the glory, that the Duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene had acquired. 1705.

Prince Eugene had a hard time in Italy: He had a weak army, and it was both ill-provided and ill-paid; he was long ſhut up within the country of Bergamo; at laſt he broke through to Cuſano; where there was a very hot action between him and the Duke of Vendoſme; both ſides pretended they had the victory, yet the Duke of Vendoſme repaſſed the river, and the Imperialiſts kept the field of battle. The French threatned Turin with a ſiege, but they began with Chivas, which held out ſome months, and was at laſt abandoned; the Duke of Feuillade commanded the army near Turin, and ſeemed to diſpoſe every thing in order to a ſiege; but the deſign was turned upon Nice, tho' late in the year: They made a brave reſiſtance for many weeks; in December they were forced to capitulate, and the place was demoliſhed by the French. And in Italy.

The firmneſs, that the Duke of Savoy expreſſed under all theſe loſſes, was the wonder of all Europe; he had now but a ſmall army of 8000 foot and 4000 horſe, and had ſcarce territory enough to ſupport theſe; he had no conſiderable places left him but Turin and Coni: But he ſeemed reſolved to be driven out of all, rather than abandon the alliance. His Dutcheſs with all the clergy, and indeed all his ſubjects, prayed him to ſubmit to the neceſſity of his affairs; nothing could ſhake him; he admitted none of his Biſhops nor Clergy into his Councils, and as his Envoy the Count Briançon told me, he had

1705. had no certain Father-Confeſſor, but ſent ſometimes to the Dominicans, and ſometimes to the Franciſcans for a prieſt, when he intended to go to confeſſion.

Affairs in Spain.

I turn next to Spain, which was this year a ſcene of moſt important tranſactions: The firſt campaign in Portugal before the hot ſeaſon, produced nothing: The ſecond campaign ſeemed to promiſe ſomewhat, but the conduct was ſo feeble, that though the Earl of Gallway did all that was poſſible, to put things in a good poſture, yet he ſaw a diſpoſition in the miniſters, and in their whole management, that made him often deſpair, and wiſh himſelf out of the ſervice. Fagel, that commanded the Dutch forces, acted in every thing in oppoſition to him, and it was viſible that the miniſters did ſecretly encourage that, by which they excuſed themſelves.

A fleet and army ſent to Spain.

King Charles was ſo diſguſted with theſe proceedings, that he was become quite weary of ſtaying in Portugal: So when the fleet of the allies came to Liſbon with an army on board, of above 5000 men, commanded by the Earl of Peterborough, he reſolved to go aboard, and to try his fortune with them. The Almirante of Caſtile died about that time; ſome thought that was a great loſs; though others did not ſet ſo high a value upon him, nor on any of the intrigues that were among the Grandees at Madrid: They were indeed offended with ſeveral ſmall matters in King Philip's conduct, and with the aſcendant, that the French had in all their councils; for they ſaw every thing was directed by orders ſent from Verſailles, and that their King was really but a Viceroy: They were alſo highly provoked at ſome innovations made in the ceremonial, which they valued above more important matters; many ſeemed diſguſted at that conduct, and withdrew from the court. The Marquis of Leganes was conſidered, as moſt active in infuſing jealouſies and a diſlike of the Government

vernment into the other Grandees, ſo he was ſeized on, and ſent priſoner to Navarre; the Grandees, in all their conduct, ſhewed more of a haughty ſullenneſs in maintaining their own privileges, than of a generous reſolution to free their country from the ſlavery, under which it was fallen; they ſeemed neither to have heads capable of laying any ſolid deſigns, for ſhaking off the yoke, nor hearts brave enough to undertake it. 1705.

Our fleet ſailed from Liſbon with King Charles; they ſtopt at Gibraltar; and carried along with them the Prince of Heſſe, who had been ſo long Governor of Barcelona, that he knew both the tempers, and the ſtrength, and importance of the place. The firſt deſign of this expedition was concerted with the Duke of Savoy; and the forces they had on board, were either to join him, or to make an attempt on Naples or Sicily, as ſhould be found moſt adviſeable: There were agents employed in different parts of Spain, to give an account of the diſpoſition people were in, and of what ſeemed moſt practicable. A body of men roſe in Catalonia about Vick: Upon the knowledge King Charles had of this, and upon other advertiſements that were ſent to our Court, of the diſpoſitions of thoſe of that principality, the orders which King Charles deſired were ſent; and brought by a runner, that was diſpatched from the Queen to the fleet: So the fleet ſteered to the coaſt of Catalonia, to try what could be done there. The Earl of Peterborough, who had ſet his heart on Italy, and on Prince Eugene, was not a little diſpleaſed with this, as appeared in a long letter from him, which the Lord Treaſurer ſhewed me.

They landed not far from Barcelona, and were joined with many Miquelets and others of the country; theſe were good at plundering, but could not ſubmit to a regular diſcipline, nor were they willing to expoſe themſelves to dangerous ſervices. Barcelona had a garriſon of 5000 men in it; theſe They landed near Barcelona.

1705. were commanded by officers, who were entirely in the intereſts of King Philip; it ſeemed a very unreaſonable thing to undertake the ſiege of ſuch a place, with ſo ſmall a force; they could not depend on the raw and undiſciplined multitudes, that came in to join them, who if things ſucceeded not in their hands, would ſoon abandon them, or perhaps ſtudy to merit a pardon, by cutting their throats. A council of war was called, to conſult on what could be propoſed and done; Stanhope, who was one of them, told me, that both Engliſh and Dutch were all of opinion, that the ſiege could not be undertaken, with ſo ſmall a force; thoſe within being as ſtrong as they were, nor did they ſee any thing elſe worth the attempting: They therefore thought that no time was to be loſt, but that they were all to go again on board, and to conſider what courſe was next to be taken, before the ſeaſon were ſpent, when the fleet would be obliged to return back again, and if they could not fix themſelves any where before that time, they muſt ſail back with the fleet. The Prince of Heſſe only was of opinion, that they ought to ſit down before Barcelona; he ſaid, he had ſecret intelligence of the good affections of many in the town, who were well-known to him, and on whom he relied, and he undertook to anſwer for their ſucceſs: This could not ſatisfy thoſe who knew nothing of his ſecrets, and ſo could only judge of things by what appeared to them.

The King preſſed the ſiege.

The debate laſted ſome hours: In concluſion, the King himſelf ſpoke near half an hour; he reſumed the whole debate, he anſwered all the objections that were made againſt the ſiege; and treated every one of thoſe who had made them, as he anſwered them, with particular civilities; he ſupported the truth of what the Prince of Heſſe had aſſerted, as being known to himſelf; he ſaid, in the ſtate in which his affairs then ſtood, nothing could be propoſed that had not great difficulties in it,

it, all was doubtful, and much must be put to hazard; but this seemed less dangerous than any other thing that was proposed: Many of his subjects had come and declared for him, to the hazard of their lives; it became him therefore to let them see, that he would run the same hazard with them: he desired that they would stay so long with him, 'till such attempts should be made, that all the world might be convinced, that nothing could be done, and he hoped that till that appeared, they would not leave him; he added, that if their orders did oblige them to leave him, yet he could not leave his own subjects: Upon this they resolved to sit down before Barcelona. They were all amazed to see so young a Prince, so little practised in business, argue in so nice a point, with so much force, and conclude with such heroical resolutions. This proved happy in many respects; it came to be known afterwards, that the Catalans and Miquelets, who had joined them, hearing that they were resolved to abandon them, and go back to their ships, had resolved, either out of resentment, or that they might merit their pardon, to murder as many of them as they could. When this small army sate down before Barcelona, they found they were too weak to besiege it; they could scarce mount their cannon: When they came to examine their stores, they found them very defective; and far short of the quantities that by their lists they expected to find; whether this flowed from treachery or carelessness, I will not determine; there is much of both in all our offices. It soon appeared that the intelligence was true, concerning the inclinations of those in the town, their affections were entire for King Charles: But they were over-awed by the garrison, and by Velasco, who as well as the Duke of Popoli, who had the chief command, was devoted to the interests of King Philip. Deserters came daily from the town and brought them intelligence: The most considerable thing was, that 1705.

1705. fort Montjuy was very ill guarded, it being thought above their ſtrength to make an attempt on it; ſo it was concluded that all the hopes of reducing Barcelona lay in the ſucceſs of their deſign on that fort. Two bodies were ordered to march ſecretly that night, and to move towards the other ſide of Barcelona, that the true deſign might not be ſuſpected, for all the hopes of ſucceſs lay in the ſecrecy of the march. The firſt body conſiſted of 800, and both the Prince of Heſſe and the Earl of Peterborough led them: The other body conſiſted of 600, who were to follow theſe at ſome diſtance; and were not to come above half way up the hill, till further order: Stanhope led this body, from whom I had this account. They drew up with them ſome ſmall field-pieces and mortars; they had taken a great compaſs, and had marched all night, and were much fatigued by the time that they had gained the top of the hill; three hundred of them, being commanded to another ſide of the fort, were ſeparated from the reſt, and miſtaking their way, fell into the hands of a body of men, ſent up from the town to reinforce the garriſon in the fort: before they were ſeparated, the whole body had attacked the out-works, and carried them; but while the Prince of Heſſe was leading on his men he received a ſhot in his body, upon which he fell; yet he would not be carried off, but continued too long in the place giving orders, and died in a few hours, much and juſtly lamented. The Governor of the fort, ſeeing a ſmall body in poſſeſſion of the out-works, reſolved to ſally out upon them, and drew up 400 men in order to it; theſe would ſoon have maſtered a ſmall and wearied body, diſheartened by ſo great a loſs; ſo that if he had followed his reſolution all was loſt, for all that Stanhope could have done, was, to receive, and bring off ſuch as could get to him; but one of thoſe newly taken, happening to cry out, O poor Prince of Heſſe, the Governor hearing this, called for

Fort Montjuy attacked.

for him, and examined him, and when he learned that both the Prince of Heſſe and the Earl of Peterborough were with that body, he concluded that the whole army was certainly coming up after them; and reflecting on that, he thought it was not fit for him to expoſe his men, ſince he believed the body they were to attack would be ſoon much ſuperior to him; ſo he reſolved not to riſque a ſally, but to keep within and maintain the fort againſt them. Thus the Earl of Peterborough continued quiet in the out-works, and being reinforced with more men, he attacked the fort, but with no great hopes of ſucceeding: He threw a few bombs into it, one of theſe fell happily into the magazine of powder, and blew it up: By this the Governor and ſome of the beſt officers were killed, which ſtruck the reſt with ſuch a conſternation, that they delivered up the place. This ſucceſs gave them great hopes, the town lying juſt under the hill, which the fort ſtood on: Upon this the party in Barcelona, that was well affected to King Charles, began to take heart, and to ſhew themſelves: And after a few days ſiege, another happy bomb fell with ſo good an effect, that the garriſon was forced to capitulate. 1705. And taken.

King Charles was received into Barcelona, with great expreſſions of joy: In the firſt tranſport, they ſeemed reſolved to break through the articles granted to the garriſon, and to make ſacrifices of the chief officers at leaſt. Upon that the Earl of Peterborough, with Stanhope and other officers, rode about the ſtreets, to ſtop this fury, and to prevail with the people to maintain their articles religiouſly; and in doing this, Stanhope ſaid to me, they ran a greater hazard, from the ſhooting and fire, that was flying about in that diſorder, than they had done during the whole ſiege: They at laſt quieted the people, and the articles of capitulation were punctually obſerved. Upon this unexpected ſucceſs, the whole principality of Catalonia Barcelona capitulated.

1705. lonia declared for King Charles: I will not profecute this relation ſo minutely in other parts of it, having ſet down ſo particularly, that which I had from ſo good a hand, chiefly to ſet forth the ſignal ſteps of Providence, that did appear in this matter.

Soon after, our fleet ſailed back to England, and Stanhope was ſent over in it, to give a full relation of this great tranſaction: By him King Charles wrote to the Queen a long and clear account of all his affairs; full of great acknowledgements of her aſſiſtance, with a high commendation of all her ſubjects, more particularly of the Earl of Peterborough: The Queen was pleaſed to ſhew me the letter; it was all writ in his own hand, and the French of it was ſo little correct, that it was not like what a Secretary would have drawn for him: ſo from that I concluded he penned it himſelf. The Lord Treaſurer had likewiſe another long letter from him, which he ſhewed me: It was all in his own hand: One correction ſeemed to make it evident, that he himſelf compoſed it. He wrote towards the end of the letter, that he muſt depend on his Protection; upon reflection, that word ſeemed not fit for him to uſe to a ſubject, ſo it was daſhed out, but the letters were ſtill plain, and inſtead of it Application was writ over head: Theſe letters gave a great idea of ſo young and unexperienced a Prince, who was able to write with ſo much clearneſs, judgment, and force. By all that is reported of the Prince of Lichtenſtein, that King could not receive any great aſſiſtance from him: He was ſpoken of, as a man of a low genius, who thought of nothing but the ways of enriching himſelf, even at the hazard of ruining his maſter's buſineſs.

King Charles's letters.

Affairs at ſea. Our affairs at ſea were more proſperous this year, than they had been formerly: In the beginning of the ſeaſon our cruizers took ſo many of the French privateers, that we had ſome thouſands of their ſea-

men

men in our hands: We kept such a squadron before Brest, that the French fleet did not think fit to venture out, and their Toulon squadron had suffered so much in the action of the former years, that they either could not, or would not venture out: By this means our navigation was safe, and our trade was prosperous. 1705.

The second campaign in Portugal ended worse than the first: Badajos was besieged, and the Earl of Gallway hoped he should have been quickly master of it; but his hopes were not well grounded, for the siege was raised: In one action the Earl of Gallway's arm was broke by a cannon-ball: It was cut off, and for some days his life was in great danger; the miscarriage of the design heightening the fever that followed his wound, by the vexation that it gave him. The siege of Badajos raised.

But now upon the news from Catalonia, the councils of Portugal were quite changed: They had a better prospect than formerly, of the reduction of Spain: The War was now divided, which lay wholly upon them before: And the French party in that court had no more the old pretence, to excuse their councils by, which was, that it was not fit for them to engage themselves too deep in that war, nor to provoke the Spaniards too much, and so expose themselves to revenges, if the allies should despair and grow weary of the war, and recall their troops and fleets. The councils of Portugal.

But now that they saw the war carried on so far, in the remotest corner of Spain, which must give a great diversion to king Philip's forces, it seemed a much safer, as well as it was an easier thing to carry on the war, with more vigour for the future. Upon this all possible assurances were given the Earl of Gallway, that things should be conducted hereafter fully to his content. So that by two of his dispatches, which the Lord Treasurer shewed me, it appeared that he was then fully convinced of the sincerity of their intentions, of which he was in great doubt, or rather despairing formerly.

1705. Affairs in Hungary.

In Hungary matters went on very doubtfully: Tranſylvania was almoſt entirely reduced; Ragotzi had great misfortunes there, as the court of Vienna publiſhed the progreſs of the new emperor's arms, but this was not to be much depended on: They could not conceal on the other hand the great ravages, that the malecontents made in other places: So that Hungary continued to be a ſcene of confuſion and plunder.

And in Poland.

Poland was no better: King Auguſtus's party continued firm to him, tho' his long ſtay in Saxony gave credit to a report ſpread about, that he was reſolved to abandon that kingdom, and to return to it no more: This ſummer paſt over in motions, and actions of no great conſequence: what was gained in one place, was loſt in another. Staniſlaus got himſelf to be crowned: The old Cardinal, tho' ſummoned to Rome, would not go thither: He ſuffered himſelf to be forced to own Staniſlaus, but died before his coronation, and that ceremony was performed by the Biſhop of Cujavia: The Muſcovites made as great ravages in Lithuania, as they had done formerly in Livonia: The King of Sweden was in perpetual motion: But tho' he endeavoured it much, he could not bring things to a deciſive action. In the beginning of winter, King Auguſtus, with two perſons only, broke thro' Poland in diſguiſe, and got to the Muſcovite army, which was put under his command. The campaign went on all the winter-ſeaſon, which, conſidering the extream cold in thoſe parts, was thought a thing impracticable before. In the ſpring after, Reinſchild a Swediſh General, fell upon the Saxon army, that was far ſuperior to his in number: He had not above 10000 men, and the Saxons were about 18000: He gave them a total defeat, killed about 7000, and took 8000 priſoners, and their camp, baggage, and artillery: Numbers upon ſuch occaſions are often ſwelled, but it is certain this was an entire victory: The Swedes gave it out, that

that they had not loſt a thouſand men in the action; and yet even this great advantage was not like to put an end to the war, nor to the diſtractions, into which that miſerable kingdom was caſt. In it the world ſaw the miſchiefs of an elective government, eſpecially when the Electors have loſt their virtue, and ſet themſelves to ſale. The King of Sweden continued in an obſtinate averſion to all terms of peace: His temper, his courage, and his military conduct were much commended; only all ſaid he grew too ſavage, and was ſo poſitive and peremptory in his reſolutions, that no applications could ſoften him: He would ſcarce admit them to be made: He was ſaid to be devout almoſt to enthuſiaſm, and he was ſeverely engaged in the Lutheran rigidity, almoſt equally againſt Papiſts and Calviniſts: Only his education was ſo much neglected, that he had not an equal meaſure of knowledge, to direct his zeal. 1705.

This is ſuch a general view of the ſtate of Europe this ſummer, as may ſerve to ſhew how things went on in every part of it. I now return to England. The election of the Members of the Houſe of Commons was managed with zeal and induſtry on both ſides: The Clergy took great pains to infuſe, into all people, tragical apprehenſions of the danger the church was in: The univerſities were inflamed with this, and they took all means to ſpread it over the nation, with much vehemence: The danger the church of England was in, grew to be as the word given in an army; men were known as they anſwered it: None carried this higher than the Jacobites, tho' they had made a ſchiſm in the church: At laſt, even the Papiſts, both at home and abroad, ſeemed to be diſturbed, with the fears that the danger our church was in, put them under: and this was ſupported by the Paris Gazette, tho' the party ſeemed concerned and aſhamed of that. Books were writ and diſperſed over the nation with great induſtry, to poſſeſs all people with the apprehenſions

A Parliament choſen in England.

1705. sions that the church was to be given up, that the Bishops were betraying it, and that the court would sell it to the dissenters. They also hoped, that this campaign, proving less prosperous than had been expected, might put the nation into ill humour, which might furnish them with some advantages. In opposition to all this, the court acted with such caution and coldness, that the whigs had very little strength given them by the ministers, in managing elections: They seemed rather to look on, as indifferent spectators, but the whigs exerted themselves with great activity and zeal. The dissenters, who had been formerly much divided, were now united, entirely in the interests of the government, and joined with the whigs every where.

When the elections were all over, the court took more heart: for it appeared, that they were sure of a great majority, and the Lord Godolphin declared himself more openly, than he had done formerly, in favour of the whigs: The first instance given of this, was the dismissing of Wright, who had continued so long Lord-Keeper, that he was fallen under a high degree of contempt with all sides; even the tories, tho' he was wholly theirs, despising him: He was sordidly covetous, and did not at all live suitably to that high post: He became extream rich, yet I never heard him charged with bribery in his court, but there was a foul rumour, with relation to the livings of the Crown, that were given by the Great Seal, as if they were set to sale, by the officers under him.

Cowper Lord-Keeper.

The seals being sent for, they were given to Cowper, a gentleman of a good family, of excellent parts and of an engaging deportment, very eminent in his profession; and who had for many years been considered, as the man who spoke the best of any in the House of Commons: He was a very acceptable man to the whig party: They had been much disgusted with the Lord Treasurer, for the coldness he expressed, as if he would have maintained a neu-

trality between the two parties; tho' the one supported him, while the other designed to ruin him: But this step went a great way towards the reconciling the whigs to him. 1705.

A session of Parliament met this summer in Scotland: There was a change made in the Ministry there: Those who were employed in the former session, could not undertake to carry a majority: So all the Duke of Queensbury's friends were again brought into employment. The Duke of Argyle's instructions were, that he should endeavour to procure an act, settling the succession as it was in England, or to set on foot a treaty for the union of the two kingdoms: When he came to Scotland, and laid his instructions before the rest of the Ministers there; the Marquess of Anandale pressed, that they should first try that, which was first named in the instructions, and he seemed confident, that if all who were in imployments would concur in it, they should be able to carry it. Those of another mind, who were in their hearts for the pretended Prince of Wales, put this by with great zeal: They said they must not begin with that, which would meet with great opposition, and be perhaps rejected: That would beget such an union of parties, that if they miscarried in the one, they would not be able to carry the other; therefore they thought that the first proposition should be for the union: that was popular, and seemed to be a remote thing; so there would be no great opposition made to a general act about it. Those who intended still to oppose it, would reckon they would find matter enough in the particulars, to raise a great opposition, and so to defeat it. This course was agreed on, at which the Marquess of Anandale was so highly offended, that he concurred no more in the councils of those, who gave the other advice. Some did sincerely desire the union, as that which would render the whole island happy: others were in their hearts against it; they thought it was a plausible step, which they believed

An act for a treaty of union past.

1705. lieved would run, by a long treaty, into a courſe of ſome years; that during that time, they would be continued in their imployments, and they ſeemed to think it was impoſſible ſo to adjuſt all matters, as to frame ſuch a treaty, as would paſs in the Parliaments of both kingdoms. The Jacobites concurred all heartily in this: It kept the ſettling the ſucceſſion at a diſtance, and very few looked on the motion for the union, as any thing but a pretence, to keep matters yet longer in ſuſpence: So this being propoſed in Parliament, it was ſoon and readily agreed to, with little or no oppoſition. But that being over, complaints were made of the acts paſſed, in the Parliament of England: which carried ſuch an appearance of threatning, that many thought it became them not to enter on a treaty, till theſe ſhould be repealed. It was carried, but not without difficulty, that no clauſe relating to that ſhould be in the act, that empowered the Queen to name the commiſſioners; but that an addreſs ſhould be made to the Queen, praying her that no proceedings ſhould be made in the treaty, till the act, that declared the Scotch aliens by ſuch a day, ſhould be repealed: They alſo voted, that none of that nation ſhould enter upon any ſuch treaty, till that were firſt done. This was popular, and no oppoſition was made to it: But thoſe who had ill intentions, hoped that all would be defeated by it. The ſeſſion run out into a great length, and in the harveſt-time, which put the country to a great charge.

The ſtate of Ireland.

In Ireland, the new heat among the proteſtants there, raiſed in the Earl of Rocheſter's time, and connived at, if not encouraged by the Duke of Ormond, went on ſtill: A body of hot clergymen ſent from England, began to form meetings in Dublin, and to have emiſſaries and a correſpondence over Ireland, on deſign to raiſe the ſame fury in the clergy of that kingdom againſt the diſſenters, that they had raiſed here in England: Whether this was only the effect of an unthinking

ing and ill-governed heat among them, or if it was set on by foreign practices, was not yet visible. It did certainly serve their ends, so that it was not to be doubted, that they were not wanting in their endeavours to keep it up, and to promote it, whether they were the original contrivers of it or not; for indeed hot men, not practised in affairs, are apt enough of their own accord, to run into wild and unreasonable extravagances. 1705.

A Parliament in England.

The Parliament of England met in the end of October: The first struggle was about the choice of a speaker, by which a judgment was to be made of the temper and inclinations of the members. The court declared for Mr. Smith: He was a man of clear parts, and of a good expression: He was then in no employment, but he had gone thro' great posts in the former reign, with reputation and honour. He had been a commissioner of the treasury and chancellor of the exchequer: He had, from his first setting out in the world, been thoroughly in the principles and interests of the whigs, yet with a due temper in all personal things, with relation to the Tories: But they all declared against him for Mr. Bromley, a man of a grave deportment, and good morals, but looked on as a violent Tory, and as a great favourer of Jacobites; which appeared evidently in a relation he printed of his travels. No matter of that sort had ever been carried with such heat on both sides, as this was: So that it was just to form a judgment upon it of the temper of the house, it went for Mr. Smith by a majority of four and forty.

A speaker chosen.

The Queen after she had confirmed this choice, made a speech, in which she recommended union to them, in a very particular manner: She complained of the reports, that were spread by ill-designing men, of the danger the church was in, who under these insinuations covered that, which they durst not own: She recommended the care of the publick supplies to the Commons, and

1705. ſpoke of the Duke of Savoy in high and very obliging terms. This produced addreſſes from both Houſes, in which they expreſſed a deteſtation of thoſe practices of infuſing into her ſubjects groundleſs fears concerning the church: This went eaſily, for ſome kept out of the way, from whom it was expected, that they would afterwards open more copiouſly on the ſubject. The chairmen of the ſeveral committees of the Houſe of Commons, were men of whom the court was well aſſured.

The firſt matter, with which they commonly begin, is to receive petitions againſt the members returned, ſo that gave a further diſcovery of the inclinations of the majority: The corruption of the nation was grown to ſuch a height, and there was ſo much foul practice on all hands that there was, no doubt, great cauſe of complaint. The firſt election that was judged, was that of St. Albans, where the Dutcheſs of Marlborough had a houſe: She recommended Admiral Killigrew to thoſe in the town; which was done all England over, by perſons of quality, who had any intereſt in the burghers: yet tho' much foul practice was proved on the other hand, and there was not the leaſt colour of evidence, to fix any ill practice on her, ſome reflected very indecently upon her: Bromley compared her to Alice Piers, in King Edward the third's time, and ſaid many other virulent things againſt her; for indeed ſhe was looked upon, by the whole party, as the perſon who had reconciled the Whigs to the Queen, from whom ſhe was naturally very averſe. Moſt of the controverted elections were carried in favour of the Whigs: In ſome few they failed, more by reaſon of private animoſities, than by the ſtrength of the other ſide. The Houſe of Commons came readily in to vote all the ſupplies that were aſked, and went on to provide proper funds for them.

The moſt important debates that were in this ſeſſion began in the Houſe of Lords; the Queen being

being present at them all. The Lord Haversham opened the motions of the Tory side: He arraigned the Duke of Marlborough's conduct, both on the Moselle and in Brabant, and reflected severely on the Dutch, which he carried so far as to say, that the war cost them nothing; and after he had wandered long in a rambling discourse, he came at last to the point which was laid, to be the debate of the day: He said we had declared a successor to the Crown, who was at a great distance from us: While the Pretender was much nearer; and Scotland was armed and ready to receive him; and seemed resolved not to have the same successor, for whom England had declared: These were threatning Dangers that hung over us, and might be near us. He concluded, that he did not see how they could be prevented, and the nation made safe, by any other way, but by inviting the next successor to come and live among us. The Duke of Buckingham, the Earls of Rochester, Nottingham, and Anglesey carried on the debate, with great earnestness: It was urged, that they had sworn to maintain the succession, and by that they were bound to insist on this motion, since there was no means so sure to maintain it, as to have the successor upon the spot, ready to assume and maintain his right: It appeared, thro' our whole history, that whosoever came first into England, had always carried it: The pretending successor might be in England within three days, whereas it might be three weeks before the declared successor could come: From thence it was inferred, that the danger was apparent and dreadful, if the successor should not be brought over: If King Charles had been in Spain, when the late King died, probably that would have prevented all this war, in which we were now engaged. With these Lords, by a strange reverse, all the Tories joined; and by another, and as strange a reverse, all the Whigs joined in opposing it. They thought this matter was

1705.

Debates about the next successor.

1705. was to be left wholly to the Queen; that it was neither proper nor safe either for the Crown, or for the nation, that the heir should not be in an entire dependence on the Queen; a rivalry between two courts might throw us into great distractions, and be attended with very ill consequences: The next successor had expressed a full satisfaction, and rested on the assurances the Queen had given her, of her firm adherence to her title, and to the maintaining of it: The nation was prepared for it, by the orders the Queen had given to name her in the daily Prayers of the church: Great endeavours had been used, to bring the Scotch nation to declare the same successor. It was true, we still wanted one great security, we had not yet made any provision, for carrying on the government, for maintaining the publick quiet, for proclaiming and sending for the successor; and for keeping things in order, till the successor should come: It seemed therefore necessary, to make an effectual provision against the disorders, that might happen in such an interval. This was proposed first by myself, and it was seconded by the Lord Godolphin, and all the Whigs went into it; and so the question was put upon the other motion, as first made, by a previous division, whether that should be put or not, and was carried in the negative by about three to one.

The Queen heard the debate, and seemed amazed at the behaviour of some, who when they had credit with her, and apprehended that such a motion might be made by the Whigs, had possessed her with deep prejudices against it: For they made her apprehend, that when the next successor should be brought over, she herself would be so eclipsed by it, that she would be much in the successor's power, and reign only at her or his courtesy: Yet these very persons, having now lost their interest in her, and their posts, were driving on that very motion, which they had made her apprehend was the

most

moſt fatal thing that could befall. This the Dutcheſs of Marlborough told me, but ſhe named no perſon: And upon it a very black ſuſpicion was taken up, by ſome, that the propoſers of this matter knew, or at leaſt believed, that the Queen would not agree to the motion, which way ſoever it might be brought to her; whether in an addreſs, or in a bill; and then they might reckon, that this would give ſuch a jealouſy, and create ſuch a miſunderſtanding between her and the Parliament, or rather the whole nation, as would unſettle her whole government, and put all things in diſorder. But this was only a ſuſpicion, and more cannot be made of it. 1705.

A bill for a regency.

The Lords were now engaged to go on in the debate for a regency: It was opened by the Lord Wharton in a manner, that charmed the whole Houſe: He had not been preſent at the former debate, but he ſaid he was much delighted, with what he had heard concerning it; he ſaid, he had ever looked on the ſecuring a Proteſtant ſucceſſion to the Crown, as that which ſecured all our happineſs: He had heard the Queen recommend from the throne, union and agreement to all her ſubjects, with a great emotion in his own mind: It was now evident, there was a divinity about her, when ſhe ſpoke; the cauſe was certainly ſupernatural, for we ſaw the miracle that was wrought by it; now all were for the Proteſtant ſucceſſion; it had not been always ſo: He rejoiced in their converſion, and confeſſed it was a miracle: He would not, he could not, he ought not to ſuſpect the ſincerity of thoſe, who moved for inviting the next ſucceſſor over; yet he could not hinder himſelf from remembring what had paſſed, in a courſe of many years; and how men had argued, voted and proteſted all that while. This confirmed his opinion that a miracle was now wrought; and that might oblige ſome to ſhew their change, by an exceſs of zeal, which he could not but commend, tho' he did

1705. did not fully agree to it. After this preamble, he opened the propoſition for the regency, in all the branches of it; That regents ſhould be empower'd to act, in the name of the ſucceſſor, till he ſhould ſend over orders: That beſides thoſe, whom the Parliament ſhould name, the next ſucceſſor ſhould ſend over a nomination ſealed up, and to be opened, when that accident ſhould happen, of perſons who ſhould act in the ſame capacity, with thoſe who ſhould be named by Parliament: So the motion being thus digeſted, was agreed to by all the whigs, and a bill was ordered to be brought in, purſuant to theſe propoſitions. But upon the debate on the heads of the bill, it did appear that the converſion, which the Lord Wharton had ſo pleaſantly magnified, was not ſo entire as he ſeemed to ſuppoſe: There was ſome cauſe given to doubt of the miracle; for when a ſecurity, that was real and viſible, was thus offered, thoſe who made the other motion, flew off from it. They pretended, that it was becauſe they could not go off from their firſt motion; but they were told, that the immediate ſucceſſor might indeed, during her life, continue in England, yet it was not to be ſuppoſed, that her ſon the Elector could be always abſent from his own dominions, and throw off all care of them, and of the concerns of the empire, in which he bore ſo great a ſhare. If he ſhould go over, for ever ſo ſhort a time, the accident might happen, in which it was certainly neceſſary to provide ſuch an expedient, as was now offered. This laid them open to much cenſure, but men engaged in parties are not eaſily put out of countenance. It was reſolved, that the regents ſhould be ſeven and no more; and they were fixed by the poſts they were in: The Archbiſhop of Canterbury, the Lord Keeper, the Lord Treaſurer, Lord Preſident, Lord Privy Seal, Lord High Admiral, and the Lord Chief Juſtice for the time being, were named for that high truſt. The tories ſtruggled

gled hard, that the Lord Treaſurer ſhould not be one, only to ſhew their ſpite to the Lord Godolphin, but the motion was rejected with ſcorn; for it ſeemed ridiculous, in a time, when there might be much occaſion for money, to exclude an officer from that high truſt, who alone could furniſh them with it, or direct them how to be furniſhed. The tories moved, that the Lord Mayor of London ſhould be one, but that was likewiſe rejected: for the deſign of the act was, that the government ſhould be carried on, by thoſe who ſhould be at that time in the conduct and ſecret of affairs, and were perſons nominated by the Queen; whereas the Lord Mayor was choſen by the city, and had no practice in buſineſs. Theſe regents were required to proclaim the next ſucceſſor, and to give orders for the like proclamation over England and Ireland: The next ſucceſſor might ſend a triplicate of the perſons, named by her or him; one of theſe was to be depoſited with the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, another with the Lord Keeper, and a third with his own miniſter, reſiding at this court; upon the producing whereof, the perſons nominated were to join with the regents, and to act in equality with them: The laſt Parliament, even though diſſolved, was to be preſently brought together, and empower'd to continue ſitting for ſix months; and thus things were to be kept in order, till the ſucceſſor ſhould either come in perſon, or ſend over his orders. 1705.

The tories made ſome oppoſition to every branch of the act, but in that of the Parliament's ſitting, the oppoſition was more remarkable: The Earl of Roceſter moved, that the Parliament and the regents ſhould be limited, to paſs no act of repeal, of any part of the act of uniformity, and in his poſitive way ſaid, if this was not agreed to, he ſhould ſtill think the church was in danger, notwithſtanding what they had heard from the throne, in the beginning of the ſeſſion. It was objected to this, that if the regal power was in the regents, Great oppoſition made to it.

1705. and if the Parliament was likewiſe a legal one, then by the conſtitution the whole legiſlature was in them, and that could not be limited: for they could repeal any law that limited them; but the judges were of opinion, that the power of regents might be limited: ſo that, as the deſign of moving this might be, to have a new colour to poſſeſs the clergy, that there was a ſecret deſign againſt the church, which might break out at ſuch a time, the Lords gave way to it, though they thought it unreaſonable, and propoſed with no good deſign. The tories, upon the yielding this to them, propoſed a great many more limitations, ſuch as the reſtraining the regents from conſenting to a repeal of the act for Triennial Parliaments, the acts for trials in caſes of treaſon, and ſome others: And ſo extravagant were they, in their deſign of making the act appear ridiculous, that they propoſed as a limitation, that they ſhould not have power to repeal the acts of ſucceſſion: All theſe were rejected with ſcorn and indignation; the Lords ſeeing by this their error in yielding to that, propoſed by the Earl of Rocheſter. The bill paſſed in the Houſe of Lords, but the tories proteſted againſt it.

I never knew any thing, in the management of the tories, by which they ſuffered more in their reputation, than by this: They hoped, that the motion for the invitation would have cleared them of all ſuſpicions, of inclinations towards the pretended Prince of Wales, and would have reconciled the body of the nation to them, and turned them againſt all, who ſhould oppoſe it: But the progreſs of the matter produced a contrary effect: The management was ſo ill diſguiſed, that it was viſible they intended only to provoke the Queen by it, hoping that the provocation might go ſo far, that in the ſequel all their deſigns might be brought about, though by a method that ſeemed quite contrary to them, and deſtructive of them.

The

The bill lay long in the Houſe of Commons, by a ſecret management, that was againſt it: The tories there likewiſe propoſed, that the next ſucceſſor ſhould be brought over; which was oppoſed by the whigs, not by any vote againſt it, but by reſolving to go thro' the Lords bill firſt: The ſecret management was from Hanover. Some indigent perſons, and others imployed by the tories, had ſtudied to infuſe jealouſies of the Queen and her miniſters, into the old Electoreſs. She was then ſeventy-five; but had ſtill ſo much vivacity, that as ſhe was the moſt knowing, and the moſt entertaining woman of the age, ſo ſhe ſeemed willing to change her ſcene, and to come and ſhine among us here in England; they prevailed with her to write a letter to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, intimating her readineſs to come over, if the Queen and Parliament ſhould deſire it: This was made publick by the intriguing perſons in that court: And a colour was ſoon found, to keep ſome whigs from agreeing to the act. In the act that firſt ſettled the ſucceſſion, one limitation, (as was told in its proper place) had been, that when the Crown ſhould paſs into that Houſe, no man who had either place or penſion ſhould be capable of ſitting in the Houſe of Commons: The clauſe in this bill, that empowered either the Parliament, that ſhould be current at the Queen's death, or that which had ſate laſt (though diſſolved) to ſit for ſix months, or till the ſucceſſor ſhould diſſolve it, ſeemed contrary to this incapacitating clauſe, in the former act. Great exceptions were taken to this by ſome zealous whigs, who were ſo poſſeſſed with the notion of a ſelf-denying bill, as neceſſary to preſerve publick liberty, from the practices of a deſigning court, that for ſome weeks there was cauſe to fear, not only the loſs of the bill, but a breach among the whigs upon this head: Much pains were taken, and with very good effect, to heal this: It was at laſt ſettled; a great many offices

1705. A ſecret management in the Houſe of Commons.

1705. were enumerated, and it was declared that every man, who held any of these, was thereby incapacitated from sitting in the House of Commons; and every member of the house, who did accept of any other office, was upon that excluded the house, and a new writ was to go out, to those whom he represented, to choose again; but it was left free to them to choose him, or any other as they pleased.

The act of the regency past. It was desired by those, who pressed this matter most, that it should take place only in the next reign: But to remove all jealousy, the ministers were content, that these clauses should take place immediately, upon the dissolution of the present Parliament. And when the House of Commons sent up these self-denying clauses to the Lords, they added to them a repeal of that clause, in the first act of succession, by which the succeeding Princes were limited to govern by the advice of their council, and by which all the Privy-Counsellors were to be obliged to sign their advices; which was impracticable, since it was visible that no man would be a Privy-Counsellor on those terms: The Lords added the repeal of this clause, to the amendments sent up by the Commons; and the Commons readily agreed to it.

The dangers of the church enquired into. After this act had passed, the Lord Halifax remembring what the Earl of Rochester had said, concerning the danger the church might be in, moved that a day might be appointed, to enquire into those dangers, about which so many tragical stories had been published of late: A day was appointed for this, and we were all made believe, that we should hear many frightful things: But our expectations were not answered: Some spoke of danger from the Presbytery, that was settled in Scotland: Some spoke of the absence of the next successor: Some reflected on the occasional bill, that was rejected in that house: Some complained of the schools of the dissenters: And others reflected on the principles, that many had drank in, that were different from those formerly received, and that seemed destructive of the church. In

In oppoſition to all this, it was ſaid, that the church was ſafer now, than ever it had been: At the revolution, proviſion was made that our King muſt be of the reformed religion, nor was this all; in the late act of ſucceſſion it was enacted, that he ſhould be of the Communion of the Church of England: It was not reaſonable to object to the houſe the rejecting a bill, which was done by the majority, of whom it became not the leſſer number to complain: We had all our former laws left to us, not only entire, but fortified by late additions and explanations: So that we were ſafer in all theſe, than we had been at any time formerly: The Diſſenters gained no new ſtrength, they were viſibly decreaſing: The toleration had ſoftened their tempers, and they concurred zealouſly in ſerving all the ends of the government: Nor was there any particular complaint brought againſt them: They ſeemed quiet and content with their toleration; if they could be but ſecure of enjoying it: The Queen was taking the moſt effectual means poſſible, to deliver the clergy from the depreſſions of poverty, that brought them under much contempt, and denied them the neceſſary means and helps of ſtudy: The Biſhops looked after their dioceſes with a care, that had not been known in the memory of man: Great ſums were yearly raiſed, by their care and zeal, for ſerving the plantations, better than had ever yet been done: A ſpirit of zeal and piety appeared in our churches, and at ſacrament beyond the example of former times. In one reſpect it was acknowledged the church was in danger; there was an evil ſpirit, and a virulent temper ſpread among the clergy; there were many indecent ſermons preached on publick occaſions, and thoſe hot clergy-men, who were not the moſt regular in their lives, had raiſed factions in many dioceſes againſt their Biſhops: Theſe were dangers created by thoſe very men, who filled the nation with this out-cry, againſt imaginary ones, while their own conduct 1705.

1705. produced real and threatning dangers. Many severe reflections were thrown out on both sides, in the progress of this debate.

A vote and an address to the Queen about that.

It ended in a vote carried by a great majority: That the Church of England, under the Queen's happy administration, was in a safe and flourishing condition; and to this a severe censure was added, on the spreaders of these reports of dangers; that they were the enemies of the Queen and of her government. They also resolved to make an address to the Queen, in which, after this was set forth, they prayed her to order a prosecution, according to law, of all who should be found guilty of this offence: They sent this down to the House of Commons, where the debate was brought over again, but it was run down with great force: The Commons agreed with the Lords, and both Houses went together to the Queen with this address. Such a concurrence of both houses had not been seen for some years: And indeed there was in both so great a majority, for carrying on all the interests of the government; that the men of ill intentions had no hopes, during the whole session, of embroiling matters, but in the debates concerning the self-denying clause abovementioned.

1706. But though the main designs and hopes of the party had thus not only failed them, but turned against them; yet they resolved to make another attempt: It was on the Duke of Marlborough, though they spoke of him with great respect. They complained of the errors committed this year, in the conduct of the war: They indeed laid the blame, of the miscarriage of the design on the Moselle, on the Prince of Baden, and the errors committed in Brabant on the States and their deputies; but they said they could not judge of these things, nor be able to lay before the Queen those advices, that might be fit for them to offer to her, unless they were made acquainted with the whole series of

Complaints of the allies rejected.

those

thoſe affairs: therefore they propoſed, that by an addreſs, they might pray the Queen to communicate to them, all that ſhe knew concerning thoſe tranſactions, during the laſt campaign: for they reckoned, that if all particulars ſhould be laid before them, they would find ſomewhat in the Duke of Marlborough's conduct, on which a cenſure might be fixed. To this it was anſwered, that if any complaint was brought, againſt any of the Queen's ſubjects, it would be reaſonable for them to enquire into it, by all proper ways: but the Houſe of Lords could not pretend to examine or to cenſure the conduct of the Queen's allies: they were not ſubject to them, nor could they be heard to juſtify themſelves: and it was ſomewhat extraordinary, if they ſhould paſs a cenſure or make a complaint of them. It was one of the truſts that was lodged with the government, to manage all treaties and alliances: So that our commerce with our allies was wholly in the Crown: Allies might ſometimes fail, being not able to perform what they undertook: They are ſubject both to errors and accidents, and are ſometimes ill-ſerved: The entring into that matter was not at all proper for the Houſe, unleſs it was intended to run into raſh and indiſcreet cenſures, on deſign to provoke the allies, and by that means to weaken, if not break the alliance: The Queen would no doubt endeavour to redreſs whatſoever was amiſs, and that muſt be truſted to her conduct. 1706.

So this attempt not only failed, but it happened upon this, as upon other occaſions, that it was turned againſt thoſe who made it: An addreſs was made to the Queen, praying her to go on in her alliances, and in particular to cultivate a perfect union and correſpondence with the States of the United Provinces: This had a very good effect in Holland, for the agents of France were, at the ſame time, both ſpreading reports among us, that the Dutch were inclined to a peace; and among them, that the Engliſh had very unkind thoughts of them: The deſign was, to alienate us from one another,

1706. another, that ſo both might be thereby the better diſpoſed to hearken to a project of peace; which in the ſtate, in which matters were at that time, was the moſt deſtructive thing that could be thought on: And all motions that look'd that way, gave very evident diſcoveries of the bad intentions of thoſe, who made them.

The acts againſt the Scots repealed.

The next buſineſs, of a publick nature, that came before the Parliament, was carried very unanimouſly: The Queen laid before the two Houſes the addreſſes of the Scotch Parliament, againſt any progreſs in the treaty of union, till the act, which declared them aliens by ſuch a day, ſhould be repealed: The tories, upon this occaſion, to make themſelves popular, after they had failed in many attempts, reſolved to promote this; apprehending that the whigs, who had firſt moved for that act, would be for maintaining their own work: but they ſeemed to be much ſurprized, when after they had prefaced their motions in this matter, with ſuch declarations of their intentions for the publick good, that ſhewed they expected oppoſition and a debate, the whigs not only agreed to this, but carried the motion further, to the other act relating to their manufacture and trade. This paſſed very unanimouſly in both Houſes; and by this means way was made, for opening a treaty, as ſoon as the ſeſſion ſhould come to an end. All the northern parts of England, which had been diſturbed for ſome years, with apprehenſions of a war with Scotland, that would certainly be miſchievous to them, whatſoever the end of it might prove, were much delighted with the proſpect of peace and union with their neighbours.

Theſe were the moſt important debates during this ſeſſion; at all which the Queen was preſent: She ſtaid all the while, and hearkned to every thing with great attention. The debates were managed on the one ſide, by the Lords Godolphin, Wharton, Somers, Halifax, Sunderland, and Townſhend; on the

the other ſide by the Duke of Buckingham, and the Lords Rocheſter, Nottingham, Angleſey, Guernſey, and Haverſham. There was ſo much ſtrength and clearneſs on the one ſide, and ſo much heat and artifice on the other, that nothing but obſtinate partiality could reſiſt ſo evident a conviction. 1706.

The Houſe of Commons went on in creating funds, for the ſupplies they had voted, for the next year: And the nation was ſo well ſatisfied with the government, and the conduct of affairs, that a fund being created for two millions and a half, by way of annuities for ninety-nine years, at ſix and a half per Cent. at the end of which the capital was to ſink; the whole ſum was ſubſcribed in a very few days: At the ſame time the Duke of Marlborough propoſed the advance of a ſum of 500,000l. to the Emperor, for the uſe of Prince Eugene, and the ſervice of Italy, upon a branch of the Emperor's revenue in Sileſia, at eight per Cent. and the capital to be repaid in eight years: The nation did ſo abound, both in money and zeal, that this was likewiſe advanced in a very few days: Our armies, as well as our allies, were every where punctually paid: The credit of the nation was never raiſed ſo high in any age, nor ſo ſacredly maintained: The Treaſury was as exact and as regular in all payments, as any private Banker could be. It is true, a great deal of money went out of the kingdom in ſpecie: That which maintained the war in Spain, was to be ſent thither in that manner, the way by bills of exchange not being yet opened: Our trade with Spain and the Weſt-Indies, which formerly brought us great returns of money, was now ſtopt: by this means there grew to be a ſenſible want of money over the nation: This was in a great meaſure ſupplied, by the currency of Exchequer-bills and Bank-notes: And this lay ſo obvious to the diſaffected party, that they were often attempting to blaſt, at leaſt to diſparage this paper credit: But it was ſtill kept up. It bred a juſt indignation in all, who had a true love

The publick credit very high.

1706. love to their country, to see some using all possible methods to shake the administration, which, notwithstanding the difficulties at home and abroad, was much the best that had been in the memory of man: And was certainly not only easy to the subjects in general, but gentle even towards those, who were endeavouring to undermine it.

A bill to regulate proceedings at law.

The Lord Somers made a motion in the House of Lords, to correct some of the proceedings in the common law, and in chancery, that were both dilatory and very chargeable: He began the motion with some instances, that were more conspicuous and gross; and he managed the matter so, that both the Lord Keeper and Judges concurred with him; though it passes generally for a maxim, that Judges ought rather to enlarge, than contract their jurisdiction. A bill passed the House, that began a reformation of proceedings at law, which, as things now stand, are certainly among the greatest grievances of the nation: When this went through the House of Commons, it was visible that the interest of under-officers, clerks, and attorneys, whose gains were to be lessened by this bill, was more considered, than the interest of the nation it self: Several clauses, how beneficial soever to the subject, which touched on their profit, were left out by the Commons. But what fault soever the Lords might have found with these alterations, yet to avoid all disputes with the Commons, they agreed to their amendments.

There was another general complaint made of the private acts of parliament, that passed through both Houses too easily, and in so great a number, that it took up a great part of the session to examine them, even in that cursory way, that was subject to many inconveniencies: The fees that were paid for these, to the speakers and clerks of both Houses, inclined them to favour and promote them: So the Lord Somers proposed such a regulation in that matter, as will probably have a good effect for the future. The present Lord Keeper did indeed very gene-

rously

rouſly obſtruct thoſe private bills, as much as his predeceſſor had promoted them: He did another thing of a great example; on the firſt day of the year, it was become a cuſtom, for all thoſe who practiſed in Chancery, to offer a new-year's gift to the Lord, who had the Great Seal: theſe grew to be ſo conſiderable, that they amounted to 1500 l. a year: On this new-year's day, which was his firſt, he ſignified to all who, according to cuſtom, were expected to come with their preſents, that he would receive none, but would break that cuſtom. He thought it looked, like the inſinuating themſelves into the favour of the court; and that if it was not bribery, yet it came too near it, and looked too like it: This contributed not a little to the raiſing his character: He managed the court of Chancery with impartial juſtice, and great diſpatch; and was very uſeful to the Houſe of Lords, in the promoting of buſineſs. 1706.

When the ſeſſion was near an end, great complaints were made in both Houſes of the progreſs of popery in Lancaſhire, and of many inſolencies committed there, both by the laity and prieſts of that religion: Upon this a bill was brought into the Houſe of Commons, with clauſes that would have rendred the bill, paſt againſt papiſts in the end of the laſt reign, effectual: This alarmed all of that religion: ſo that they made very powerful (or to follow the raillery of that time) very weighty interceſſions with the conſiderable men of that Houſe. The court looked on, and ſeemed indifferent in the matter, yet it was given out that ſo ſevere a law would be very unreaſonable, when we were in alliance with ſo many princes of that religion, and that it muſt leſſen the force of the Queen's interceſſion, in favour of the proteſtants, that lived in the dominions of thoſe princes: The proceeding ſeemed rigorous, and not ſuited to the gentleneſs, that the Chriſtian religion did ſo particularly recommend, and was contrary to the maxims of liberty of conſcience and toleration, that were then in great vogue. Complaints of the progreſs of popery.

1706. It was anſwered, that the dependence of thoſe of that religion, on a foreign juriſdiction, and at preſent on a foreign Pretender to the Crown, put them out of the caſe of other ſubjects, who might differ from the eſtabliſhed religion; ſince there ſeemed to be good reaſon to conſider the papiſts as enemies, rather than as ſubjects. But the application was made in ſo effectual a manner, that the bill was let fall: And though the Lords had made ſome ſteps towards ſuch a bill, yet ſince they ſaw what fate it was like to have in the Houſe of Commons, inſtead of proceeding farther in it, they diſmiſſed that matter with an addreſs to the Queen, that ſhe would give orders, both to the Juſtices of Peace, and to the Clergy, that a return might be made to the next ſeſſion of Parliament, of all the papiſts in England.

A deſign for a publick library.

There was another project ſet on foot at this time by the Lord Halifax, for putting the records and the publick offices of the kingdom in better order: He had, in a former ſeſſion, moved the Lords to ſend ſome of their number to view the records in the Tower, which were in great diſorder, and in a viſible decay for want of ſome more officers, and by the neglect of thoſe we had. Theſe Lords in their report propoſed ſome regulations for the future, which have been ſince followed ſo effectually, though at a conſiderable charge, by creating ſeveral new officers, that the nation will reap the benefit of all this very ſenſibly: But Lord Halifax carried his project much further. The famous library, collected by Sir Robert Cotton, and continued down in his family, was the greateſt collection of manuſcripts relating to the publick, that perhaps any nation in Europe could ſhew: The late owner of it, Sir John Cotton, had, by his will, left it to the publick, but in ſuch words, that it was rather ſhut up, than made any way uſeful: And indeed it was to be ſo carefully preſerved, that none could be the better for it: So that Lord moved the Houſe to intreat the Queen, that ſhe would be pleaſed to buy Cotton-

Cotton-Houſe, which ſtood juſt between the two Houſes of Parliament; ſo that ſome part of that ground would furniſh them with many uſeful rooms, and there would be enough left, for building a noble ſtructure for a library: To which, beſides the Cotton Library and the Queen's Library, the Royal Society, who had a very good library at Greſham college, would remove and keep their aſſemblies there, as ſoon as it was made convenient for them. This was a great deſign, which the Lord Halifax, who ſet it firſt on foot, ſeemed reſolved to carry on till it were finiſhed: It will ſet learning again on foot among us, and be a great honour to the Queen's reign. 1706.

Thus this ſeſſion of Parliament came to a very happy concluſion: There was in it the beſt harmony within both Houſes, and between them, as well as with the Crown, and it was the beſt applauded in the city of London, over the whole nation, and indeed over all Europe, of any ſeſſion that I had ever ſeen: And when it was conſidered, that this was the firſt of the three, ſo that we were to have two other ſeſſions of the ſame members, it gave an univerſal ſatisfaction, both to our own people at home, and our allies abroad, and afforded a proſpect of a happy end, that ſhould be put to this devouring war, which in all probability muſt come to a period, before the concluſion of the preſent Parliament. This gave an unſpeakable ſatisfaction to all who loved their country and their religion, who now hoped that we had in view a good and a ſafe peace.

The Convocation ſate at the ſame time; it was choſen as the former had been, and the members, that were ill-affected, were ſtill prevailed on to come up, and to continue in an expenſive but uſeleſs attendance in town. The Biſhops drew up an addreſs to the Queen, in which, as the two Houſes of Parliament had done, they expreſſed a juſt indignation at the jealouſies, that had been ſpread Proceedings in Convocation.

1706. about the nation, of the danger of the Church: When this was communicated to the Lower Houſe, they refuſed to join in it, but would give no reaſon for their refuſal: They drew an addreſs of their own, in which no notice was taken of theſe aſperſions: The Biſhops, according to antient precedents, required them either to agree to their addreſs, or to offer their objections againſt it; they would do neither; ſo the addreſs was let fall: And upon that, a ſtop was put to all further communication between the two Houſes. The Lower Houſe, upon this, went on in their former practice of intermediate ſeſſions, in which they began to enter upon buſineſs, to approve of ſome books, and to cenſure others; and they reſolved to proceed upon the ſame grounds, that factious men among them had before ſet up, though the falſhood of their pretenſions had been evidently made to appear. The Archbiſhop had prorogued them to the firſt of March: When that day came, the Lower Houſe was ſurprized with a proteſtation, that was brought to the Upper Houſe, by a great part of their body, who, being diſſatisfied with the proceedings of the majority, and having long ſtruggled againſt them, though in vain, at laſt drew up a proteſtation againſt them: They ſent it up and down, through the whole province, that they might get as many hands to it as they could; but the matter was managed with ſuch caution, that though it was in many hands, yet it was not known to the other ſide, till they heard it was preſented to the Preſident of the Upper Houſe: In it, all the irregular motions of the Lower Houſe were reckoned up, inſiſting more particularly on that of holding intermediate ſeſſions, againſt all which they proteſted, and prayed that their proteſtation might be entered in the books of the Upper Houſe, that ſo they might not be involved in the guilt of the reſt: This was ſigned by above fifty, and the whole body was but an hundred and forty-five: Some were neutral: So that

that hereby very near one half broke off from the rest, and left them, and sate no more with them. 1706.
The Lower House was deliberating how to vent their indignation against these, when a more sensible mortification followed: The Archbishop sent for them, and when they came up; he read a letter to them, that was wrote to him by the Queen, in which she took notice that the differences between the two Houses were still kept up; she was much concerned, to see that they were rather increased than abated: She was the more surprized at this, because it had been her constant care, as it should continue always to be, to preserve the constitution of the Church, as it was by law established, and to discountenance all divisions and innovations whatsoever: She was resolved to maintain her supremacy, and the due subordination of Presbyters to Bishops, as fundamental parts of it: She expected, that the Archbishop and Bishops would act conformable to this resolution, and in so doing they should be sure of the continuance of her protection and favour, which should not be wanting to any of the clergy, as long as they were true to the constitution, and dutiful to Her, and their ecclesiastical superiors, and preserved such a temper, as became those, who were in holy orders. The Archbishop, as he was required to read this to them, so he was directed to prorogue them, for such a time as should appear convenient to him: They were struck with this, for it had been carried so secretly, that it was a surprize to them all. When they saw they were to be prorogued, they ran very indecently to the door, and with some difficulty were kept in the room, till the prorogation was intimated to them: They went next to their own house, where, though prorogued, they sate still in form, as if they had been a house, but they did not venture on passing any vote: So factious were they, and so implicitly led by those, who had got an ascendant over them, that though they had formerly submitted

1706. the matters in debate to the Queen, yet now, when she declared her pleasure, they would not acquiesce in it.

Preparations for the campaign.

The session of Parliament being now at an end, the preparations for the campaign were carried on with all possible dispatch: That which was most pressing was first done. Upon Stanhope's first coming over, in the beginning of January, orders were immediately issued out for sending over 5000 men, with all necessary stores to Spain: The orders were given in very pressing terms; yet so many offices were concerned in the execution, that many delays were made, some of these were much censured; at last they sailed in March. The fleet that had gone into the Mediterranean with King Charles, and was to return and winter at Lisbon, was detained by westerly winds longer in those seas, than had been expected.

A revolt in Valencia.

The people of Valencia seemed to hope, that they were to winter in those seas; and by this they were encouraged to declare for King Charles: But they were much exposed to those, who commanded in King Philip's name. All Catalonia had submitted to King Charles except Roses; garrisons were put in Gironne, Lerida, and Tortosa: And the States of that Principality prepared themselves, with great zeal and resolution, for the next campaign, which, they had reason to expect, would come both early and severely upon them. There was a breach, between the Earl of Peterborough and the Prince of Lichtenstein, whom he charged very heavily, in the King's own presence, with corruption and injustice: The matter went far, and the King blamed the Earl of Peterborough, who had not much of a forbearing or forgiving temper in him. There was no method of communication with England yet settled: We did not hear from them, nor they from us, in five months: This put them out of all hope: Our men wanted every thing, and could be supplied there with nothing.

The

The revolt in Valencia made it neceſſary to ſend ſuch a ſupply to them from Barcelona, as could be ſpared from thence: The diſguſt that was taken, made it adviſeable to ſend the Earl of Peterborough thither, and he willingly undertook the ſervice: He marched towards that kingdom with about fifteen hundred Engliſh, and a thouſand Spaniards: They were all ill equipped and ill furniſhed, without artillery, and with very little ammunition: But as they marched, all the country either came in to them, or fled before them. He got to Valencia without any oppoſition, and was received there with all poſſible demonſtrations of joy: This gave a great diſturbance to the Spaniſh councils at Madrid: They adviſed the King, to begin with the reduction of Valencia: It lay nearer, and was eaſier come at: And by this the diſpoſition to revolt would be checked, which might otherwiſe go further: But this was over-ruled from France, where little regard was had to the Spaniards: They reſolved to begin with Barcelona: In it King Charles himſelf lay; and on taking it, they reckoned all the reſt would fall. 1706.

The French reſolved to ſend every thing that was neceſſary for the ſiege by ſea, and the Count of Toulouſe was ordered to lie with the fleet before the place, whilſt it was beſieged by land: It was concerted, to begin the ſiege in March, for they knew that if they begun it ſo early, our fleet could not come in time to relieve it: But two great ſtorms, that came ſoon one after another, did ſo ſcatter their tartanes, and diſable their ſhips of war, that as ſome were caſt away, and others were much ſhattered, ſo they all loſt a month's time, and the ſiege could not be formed before the beginning of April: King Charles ſhut himſelf up in Barcelona, by which the people were both animated and kept in order: This gave all the Allies very ſad apprehenſions, they feared not only the loſs of the place, but of his perſon. Leak ſailed from Liſbon in the The ſiege of Barcelona.

1706. end of March: He miſſed the galleons very narrowly, but he could not purſue them; for he was to loſe no time, but haſte to Barcelona: His fleet was increaſed to thirty ſhips of the line, by the time he got to Gibraltar; but though twenty more were following him, he would not ſtay, but haſted on to the relief of the place, as faſt as the wind ſerved.

Alcantara taken. At the ſame time the campaign was opened on the ſide of Portugal: The Earl of Gallway had full powers and a brave army of about 20000 men, well furniſhed in all reſpects: He left Badajos behind him, and marched on to Alcantara. The Duke of Berwick had a very ſmall force left him, to defend that frontier: It ſeems the French truſted to the intereſt they had in the court of Portugal: His troops were ſo bad, that he ſaw in one ſmall action, that he could not depend on them: He put a good garriſon in Alcantara; where their beſt magazine was laid in. But when the Earl of Gallway came before the town, within three days the garriſon, conſiſting of 4000 men, delivered up the place and themſelves as priſoners of war: The Portugueſe would have ſtopped there, and thought they had made a good campaign, though they had done no more: But the Engliſh Ambaſſador at Liſbon went to the King of Portugal, and preſſed him, that orders might be immediately ſent to the Earl of Gallway to march on: And when he ſaw a great coldneſs in ſome of the Miniſters, he threatned a preſent rupture, if it was not done: And he continued waiting on the King, till the orders were ſigned, and ſent away. Upon receipt of theſe, the Earl of Gallway advanced towards Placentia, all the country declaring for him, as ſoon as he appeared; and the Duke of Berwick ſtill retiring before him, not being able to give the leaſt interruption to his march.

The Germans are defeated in Italy. The campaign was opened in Italy with great advantage to the French: The Duke of Vendome marched

marched into the Breſcian, to attack the Imperialiſts, before Prince Eugene could join them, who was now come very near: He fell on a body of about 12000 of them, being double their number; he drove them from their poſts, with the loſs of about 3000 men killed and taken; but it was believed there were as many of the French killed, as of the Imperialiſts. Prince Eugene came up within two days, and put all in order again: He retired to a ſurer poſt, waiting till the troops from Germany ſhould come up: The ſlowneſs of the Germans was always fatal, in the beginning of the campaign: The Duke of Savoy was now reduced to great extremities: He ſaw the ſiege of Turin was deſigned; he fortified ſo many out-poſts, and put ſo good a garriſon in it, that he prepared well for a long ſiege, and a great reſiſtance: He wrote to the Queen, for a further ſupply of 50000 pounds, aſſuring her, that by that means the place ſhould be put in ſo good a ſtate, that he would undertake that all ſhould be done, which could be expected from brave and reſolute men: And ſo careful was the Lord Treaſurer to encourage him, that the courier was ſent back the next day, after he came, with credit for the money. There was ſome hopes of a peace, as there was an actual ceſſation of war in Hungary: The Malecontents had been put in hopes, of a great diverſion of the Emperor's forces, on the ſide of Bavaria, where there was a great inſurrection, provoked, as was ſaid, by the oppreſſion of the imperial officers, who were ſo accuſtomed to be heavy in their quarters, that when they had the pretence, that they were among enemies, it may be eaſily believed, there was much juſt occaſion of complaint; and that they were guilty of great exactions and rapine. This looked formidably at firſt, and ſeemed to threaten a new war in thoſe parts; but all was ſoon ſuppreſſed: The peaſants had no officers among them, no diſcipline, nor magazines, and no place of ſtrength: So they 1706.

1706. were quickly dispersed, and stricter orders were given, for the better regulating the military men, though it was not expected that these would be long observed.

The treaty for the union of the two kingdoms

While matters were in this disposition abroad; the treaty for the union of the two kingdoms was brought on, and managed with great solemnity. Commissions were given out for thirty-two persons of each kingdom, to meet at London on the 18th of April: Somerset-House was appointed for the place of the treaty; the persons, who were named to treat on the English side, were well chosen: They were the most capable of managing the treaty, and the best disposed to it, of any in the kingdom. Those who came from Scotland, were not looked on as men so well affected to the design: Most of them had stood out in a long and firm opposition to the revolution, and to all that had been done afterwards, pursuant to it. The nomination of these was fixed on, by the Dukes of Queensbury and Argyle: It was said by them, that though these objections did indeed lie against them, yet they had such an interest in Scotland, that the engaging them to be cordially for the union, would be a great means to get it agreed to, in the Parliament there: The Scotch had got among them the notion of a fœderal union, like that of the United Provinces, or of the Cantons in Switzerland: But the English resolved to lose no time, in the examining or discussing of that project, for this reason, besides many others, that as long as the two nations had two different Parliaments, they could break that union whensoever they pleased; for each nation would follow their own Parliament: The design was now to settle a lasting and indissoluble union between the kingdoms, therefore they resolved to treat only, about an incorporating union, that should put an end to all distinctions, and unite all their interests: So they at last entered upon the scheme of an entire union.

But

But now to look again into our affairs abroad: 1706.
The French ſeemed to have laid the deſign of their campaign ſo well, that it had every where a formidable appearance: And if the execution had anſwered their ſcheme, it would have proved as glorious, as it was in the concluſion fatal to them. They reckoned the taking of Barcelona and Turin ſure: And by theſe, they thought the war, both in Spain and Italy, would be ſoon brought to an end: They knew they would be ſuperior to any force, that the Prince of Baden could bring together, on the upper Rhine; and they intended to have a great army in Flanders, where they knew our chief ſtrength would be, to act as occaſion or their other affairs ſhould require. But how well ſoever this deſign might ſeem to be laid, it appeared providence had another: Which was brought to bear every where, in a moſt wonderful manner, and in reverſe to all their views. The ſteps of this, I intend to ſet out, rather as a meditation on the providence of God, than as a particular hiſtory of this ſignal year, for which I am no way furniſhed: Beſides that, if I were, it does not anſwer my principal deſign in writing.

The French lay thirty-ſeven days before Barcelona: Of that time, twenty-two were ſpent in taking Mountjoy; they ſeemed to think there was no danger of raiſing the ſiege, and that therefore they might proceed as ſlowly as they pleaſed: The town was under ſuch a conſternation, that nothing but the King's preſence could have kept them from capitulating, the firſt week of the ſiege: There were ſome mutinies raiſed, and ſome of the magiſtrates were killed in them: But the King came among them on all occaſions, and both quieted and animated them. Stanhope wrote, after the ſiege was over, (whether as a courtier or not, I cannot tell, for he had now the character of the Queen's Envoy to King Charles) that the King went into all places of danger, and made all about

1706. him examples to the reſt, to be hard at work, and conſtant upon duty. After Mountjoy was taken, the town was more preſſed: The Earl of Peterborough came from Valencia, and was upon the hills, but could not give them any great aſſiſtance: Some few from Gironne, and other places, got into the town: The French engineers performed their part, with little ſkill and ſucceſs; thoſe they relied moſt on, happened to be killed in the beginning of the ſiege. The Levant wind was all this while ſo ſtrong, that it was not poſſible for Leak to come up ſo ſoon as was deſired, to their relief.

The ſiege of Barcelona raiſed. But when their ſtrength, as well as their patience, was almoſt quite exhauſted, the wind turned, and Leak with all poſſible haſte ſailed to them: As ſoon as the Count of Toulouſe had intelligence, that he was near him, he ſailed back to Toulon. Teſſé, with King Philip (who was in the camp, but was not once named in any action) continued three days before Barcelona, after their fleet ſailed away: they could then have no hopes of carrying it, unleſs a ſtorm at ſea had kept our fleet at a diſtance: At laſt, on the firſt of May O. S. the ſiege was raiſed, with great precipitation, and in much diſorder: Their camp was left well furniſhed, and the ſick and wounded could not be carried off.

An eclipſe of the ſun. On the day of the raiſing the ſiege, as the French army was marching off, the ſun was eclipſed, and it was total in thoſe parts: It is certain that there is no weight to be laid on ſuch things; yet the vulgar being apt to look on them as ominous, it was cenſured as a great error in Teſſé, not to have raiſed the ſiege a day ſooner; and that the rather, becauſe the King of France had made the ſun, with a motto of *Nec pluribus Impar*, his device. King Philip made all the haſte he could to Perpignan, but his army was almoſt quite ruined, before he got thither: There was no manner of

of communication, over land, between Barcelona and Portugal: So the Portugueze, doubting the iſſue of that ſiege, had no mind to engage further, till they ſaw how it ended: Therefore they ordered their army to march aſide to Ciudad Roderigo, on pretence that it was neceſſary to ſecure their frontier, by taking that place: It was taken after a very ſhort ſiege, and with ſmall reſiſtance: From thence they advanced to Salamanca But upon the news of raiſing the Siege of Barcelona, they went on towards Madrid; the Duke of Berwick only obſerving their motions, and ſtill retiring before them. King Philip went, with great expedition, and a very ſmall train, from Perpignan to Navarre, from thence he came poſt to Madrid; but finding he had no army, that he could truſt to, the Grandees being now retired, and looking as ſo many dead men; and he ſeeing that the Portugueze were ſtill advancing, ſent his Queen to Burgos, and followed her in a few days, carrying with him that which was valuable in the palace: And it ſeems he deſpaired ever to return thither again, ſince he deſtroyed all that could not be carried away; in which he acted a very extraordinary part, for he did ſome of this with his own hand; as the gentleman, whom the Earl of Gallway ſent over, told me was univerſally believed in Madrid.

1705.

The Earl of Gallway advanced.

King Philip came to Madrid, and ſoon left it.

The capital city being thus forſaken, the Earl of Gallway came to it by the end of June; he met with no reſiſtance indeed, but with as little welcome: An army of Portugueze, with a heretick at their head, were certainly very ſtrange ſights to the Caſtilians, who retained all the pride, without any of the courage, of their anceſtors: They thought it below them to make their ſubmiſſions to any, but to the King himſelf; and if King Charles had come thither immediately, it was believed that the entire reduction of Spain would have been ſoon brought about. It is not yet certain, what made

The Earl of Gallway came to it, but King Charles delayed too long to come thither.

1706. made him ſtay ſo long as he did at Barcelona, even from the beginning of May till near the end of July. Thoſe about him pretended, it was not fit to go to Madrid, till he was well furniſhed with money, to make a decent entry: Stanhope offered to furniſh him with what was neceſſary for the journey, but could not afford a magnificent equipage for a ſolemn entry. King Charles wrote a very preſſing letter to the Duke of Marlborough, ſetting forth his neceſſities, and deſiring greater ſupplies; I ſaw this letter, for the Duke ſent it over to the Lord Treaſurer: But little regard was had to it, becauſe it was ſuggeſted from many different hands that the Prince of Lichtenſtein was enriching himſelf, and keeping his King poor. Others pretended the true cauſe of the delay was a ſecret amour of that King's at Barcelona; whatſoever the cauſe of it might be, the effects have hitherto proved fatal: It was firſt propoſed, that King Charles ſhould march thro' Valencia, as the neareſt and much the ſafeſt way, and he came on that deſign as far as Tarracona: But advice being brought him there, that the kingdom of Arragon was in a good diſpoſition to declare for him, he was diverted from his firſt intentions and prevailed on to go to Saragoza; where he was acknowledged by that kingdom: But he loſt much time, and more in the reputation of his arms, by delaying ſo long to move towards Madrid: So King Philip took heart, and came back from Burgos to Madrid. The Earl of Gallway was very uneaſy at this ſlow motion, which King Charles made: King Philip had ſome more troops ſent him from France, and the broken bodies of his army, being now brought together, he had an army equal in numbers to the Earl of Gallway, and ſo he marched up to him; but ſince ſo much depended on the iſſue of an action, the Earl of Gallway avoided it, becauſe he expected every day reinforcements, to be brought up to him, both by King Charles, and by the Earl

of

of Peterborough from Valencia: Therefore to facilitate this conjunction, he moved towards Arragon; so that Madrid was again left to be possessed by King Philip. At last, in the beginning of August, king Charles came up, but with a very inconsiderable force: A few days after, the Earl of Peterborough came also with an Escorte, rather than any strength; for he had not with him above 500 dragoons. He was now uneasy, because he could not have the supreme command, both the Earl of Gallway and Count Noyelles being much ancienter officers, than he was. But to deliver him from the uneasiness, of being commanded by them, the Queen had sent him the powers of an ambassador extraordinary; and he took that character on him for a few days. His complaining, so much as he did, of the Prince of Lichtenstein and the Germans, who were still possessed of King Charles's confidence, made him very unacceptable to that King: So he, waiting for orders from the Queen, withdrew from the camp, and sailed away in one of the Queen's ships to Genoa. Our fleet lay all the summer in the Mediterranean; which obliged the French to keep theirs within Toulon. Cartagena declared for King Charles, and was secured by some of our ships: The fleet came before Alicant; the seamen landed and stormed the town; the castle held out some weeks, but then it capitulated, and the soldiers by articles were obliged to march to Cadiz. Soon after that, our fleet sailed out of the Streights; one squadron was sent to the West-Indies; another was to lie at Lisbon, and the rest were ordered home. After King Charles had joined Lord Gallway, King Philip's army and his looked on one another for some time, but without venturing on any action: They were near an equality, and both sides expected to be reinforced; so in that uncertainty, neither side would put any thing to hazard. 1706.

1706. But now I turn to another and a greater ſcene: The King of France was aſſured, that the King of Denmark would ſtand upon ſome high demands, he made to the allies, ſo that the Duke of Marlborough could not have the Danes, who were about ten or twelve thouſand, to join him for ſome time: and that the Pruſſians, almoſt as many as the Danes, could not come up to the confederate army, for ſome weeks; ſo he ordered the Elector of Bavaria and Villeroy to march up to them, and to venture on a battle; ſince, without the Danes, they would have been much ſuperior in number. The States yielded to all Denmark's demands, and the Prince of Wirtemberg, who commanded their troops, being very well affected, reckoned that all being granted, he needed not ſtay, till he ſent to Denmark, nor wait for their expreſs orders: But marched and joined the army, the day before the engagement. Some thought, that the King of France, upon the news of the diſgrace before Barcelona, that he might cover that, reſolved to put all to venture, hoping that a victory would have ſet all to rights; this paſſed generally in the world. But the Duke of Marlborogh told me, that there being only twelve days, between the raiſing of the ſiege of Barcelona and this battle, the one being on the firſt of May, and the other on the twelfth, eight of which muſt be allowed for the courier to Paris, and from thence to Brabant, it ſeemed not poſſible to put things in the order, in which he ſaw them, in ſo ſhort a time. The French left their baggage and heavy cannon at Judoign; and marched up to the Duke of Marlborough: He was marching towards them, on the ſame deſign, for if they had not offered him battle on the twelfth, he was reſolved to have attacked them on the thirteenth of May: They met near a village called Ramellies (not far from the Mehaigne) from whence the battle takes it's name.

The battle of Ramellies.

A great victory gained.

The engagement was an entire one; and the action was hot for two hours; both the French Mouſquetaires

quetaires and the Cuiraſſiers were there; the Elector of Bavaria ſaid, it was the beſt army he ever beheld: But after two hours, the French gave way every where, ſo it ended in an entire defeat. They loſt both their camp, baggage and artillery, as well as all that they had left in Judoign; and in all poſſible confuſion, they paſſed the Dyle; our men purſuing, till it was dark. The Duke of Marlborough ſaid to me, the French army looked the beſt of any he had ever ſeen: But that their officers did not do their part, nor ſhew the courage, that had appeared among them on other occaſions. And when I aſked him the difference, between the actions at Hockſtedt and at Ramellies; he ſaid, the firſt battle laſted between ſeven and eight hours, and we loſt above 12000 men in it; whereas the ſecond laſted not above two hours, and we loſt not above 2500 men. Orders were preſently ſent to the great cities, to draw the garriſons out of them, that ſo the French might have again the face of an army: For their killed, their deſerters, and their priſoners, on this great day, were above 20000 men. The Duke of Marlborough loſt no time, but followed them cloſe: Louvain, Mechlin, and Bruſſels ſubmitted, beſides many leſſer places; Antwerp made a ſhew of ſtanding out, but ſoon followed the example of the reſt; Ghent and Bruges did the ſame: in all theſe King Charles was proclaimed. Upon this unexpected rapidity of ſucceſs, the Duke of Marlborough went to the Hague, to concert meaſures with the States, where he ſtaid but few days; for they agreed to every thing he propoſed, and ſent him back with full powers: The firſt thing he undertook was the ſiege of Oſtend, a place famous for it's long ſiege in the laſt age: The natives of the place were diſpoſed to return to the Auſtrian family, and the French, that were in it, had ſo loſt all heart and ſpirit, that they made not the reſiſtance, that was looked for: In ten days, after they ſate down before it, and within four days after the batteries

1705.

Flanders and Brabant reduced.

Oſtend and Menin taken.

1705. teries were finiſhed, they capitulated. From thence the confederates went to Menin, which was eſteemed the beſt finiſhed fortification, in all thoſe parts: It was built after the peace of Nimeguen; nothing that art could contrive was wanting, to render it impregnable; and it was defended by a garriſon of 6000 men, ſo that many thought it was too bold an undertaking, to ſit down before it. The French army was become conſiderable, by great detachments brought from the Upper Rhine; where Mareſchal Villars was ſo far ſuperior to the Germans, that, if it had not been for this revulſion of his forces, the circles of Suabia and Franconia would have been much expoſed to pillage and contribution.

The Duke of Vendome commanded in Flanders.

The Duke of Vendome's conduct in Italy had ſo raiſed his character, that he was thought the only man, fit to be at the head of the army in Flanders: ſo he was ſent for, and had that command given him, with a very high compliment, which was very injurious to the other officers, ſince he was declared to be the ſingle man, on whom France could depend, and by whom it could be protected, in that extremity. The Duke of Orleans was ſent to command in Italy, and Mareſchal Marſin was ſent with him to aſſiſt, or rather in reality to govern him: And ſo obſtinately was the King of France ſet, on purſuing his firſt deſigns, that notwithſtanding his diſgraces both in Spain and in the Netherlands, yet (ſince he had ordered all the preparations for the ſiege of Turin) he would not deſiſt from that attempt, but ordered it to be purſued, with all poſſible vigour. The ſiege of Menin was, in the mean while, carried on ſo ſucceſsfully, that the trenches were opened on the 24th of July, and the batteries were finiſhed on the 29th: and they preſſed the place ſo warmly, that they capitulated on the 11th of Auguſt, and marched out on the 14th, being St. Lewis's day; 4000 men marched out of the place.

It

It ſeemed ſtrange, that a garriſon, which was ſtill ſo numerous, ſhould give up, in ſo ſhort a time, a place that was both ſo ſtrong and ſo well furniſhed: But as the French were much ſunk, ſo the allies were now become very expert at carrying on of ſieges; and ſpared no coſt that was neceſſary for diſpatch. Dendermonde had been, for ſome weeks, under a blockade: this, the Duke of Marlborough ordered to be turned into a formal ſiege. The place was ſo ſurrounded with water, that the King of France, having once begun a ſiege there, was forced to raiſe it; yet it was now ſo preſſed, that the garriſon offered to capitulate, but the Duke of Marlborough would give them no other terms, but thoſe of being priſoners of war, to which they were forced to ſubmit. Aeth was next inveſted, it lay ſo inconveniently between Flanders and Brabant, that it was neceſſary to clear that communication, and to deliver Bruſſels from the danger of that neighbourhood: In a fortnight's time, it was alſo obliged to capitulate, and the garriſon were made priſoners of war. 1706. Dendermonde and Aeth taken.

During thoſe ſieges, the Duke of Vendome, having fixed himſelf in a camp, that could not be forced, did not think fit to give the Duke of Marlborough any diſturbance; while he lay with his army covering the ſieges: The French were jealous of the Elector of Bavaria's heat, and though he deſired to command an army apart, yet it was not thought fit to divide the forces, though now grown to be very numerous. Deſerters ſaid, the pannick was ſtill ſo great in the army, that there was no appearance of their venturing on any action: Paris itſelf was under a high conſternation, and though the King carried his misfortunes with an appearance of calmneſs and compoſure, yet he was often let blood, which was thought an indication of a great commotion within; and this was no doubt the greater, becauſe it was ſo much diſguiſed. No news was talked of at that court; all was ſilent and ſolemn; ſo that

1706. that even the Dutchess Dowager of Orleans knew not the true state of their affairs; which made her write to her aunt, the Electoress of Hanover, to learn news of her.

Designs for a descent in France.

There was another alarm given them, which heightened the disorder they were in: The Queen and the States formed a design of a descent in France, with an army of about 10000 foot and 1200 horse. The Earl of Rivers commanded the land-army, as Shovell did a royal fleet, that was to convoy them, and to secure their landing; it was to be near Bourdeaux: but the secret was then so well kept, that the French could not penetrate into it; so the alarm was general. It put all the maritime counties of France to a vast charge, and under dismal apprehensions: Officers were sent from the court to exercise them; but they saw what their militia was, and that was all their defence. I have one of the manifesto's, that the Earl of Rivers was ordered to publish, upon his landing: He declared by it, that he was come neither to pillage the country, nor to conquer any part of it; he came only to restore the people to their liberties, and to have assemblies of the States, as they had antiently, and to restore the Edicts to the Protestants; he promised protection to all that should come in to him. The troops were all put aboard at Portsmouth, in the beginning of July, but they were kept in our ports by contrary winds, till the beginning of October: The design on France was then laid aside; it was too late in the year, for the fleet to sail into the bay of Biscay, and to lie there, for any considerable time, in that season: The reduction of Spain was of the greatest importance to us; so new orders were sent them to sail first to Lisbon, and there to take such measures, as the state of the affairs of Spain should require.

The siege of Turin.

The siege of Turin was begun in May, and was continued till the beginning of September: There was a strong garrison within it, and it was well furnished, both with provisions and ammunition. The

Duke

Duke of Savoy put all to the hazard: He ſent his Dutcheſs with his children to Genoa; and himſelf, with a body of 3000 horſe, was moving about Turin, from valley to valley, till that body was much diminiſhed: for he was, as it were, hunted from place to place, by the Duke of Feuillade, who commanded in the ſiege, and drove the Duke of Savoy before him: ſo that all hope of relief lay in Prince Eugene. The garriſon made a noble reſiſtance, and maintained their outworks long; they blew up many mines, and diſputed every inch of ground, with great reſolution: They loſt about 6000 men, who were either killed, or had deſerted during the ſiege; and their powder was at laſt ſo ſpent, that they muſt have capitulated within a day or two, if they had not been relieved. The ſiege coſt the French very dear; they were often forced to change their attacks, and loſt about 14000 men before the place; for they were frequently beat from the poſts, that they had gained. 1706.

Prince Eugene made all the haſte he could to their relief: The court of Vienna had not given due orders, as they had undertaken, for the proviſion of the troops, that were to march through their country, to join him: This occaſioned many complaints, and ſome delay. The truth was, that court was ſo much ſet on the reduction of Hungary, that all other things were much neglected, while that alone ſeemed to poſſeſs them. A treaty was ſet on foot with the malecontents there, by the mediation of England and of the States; a ceſſation of arms was agreed to, for two months: All that belonged to that court were very uneaſy, while that continued; they had ſhared among them the confiſcations of all the great eſtates in Hungary, and they ſaw, that if a peace was made, all theſe would be vacated, and the eſtates would be reſtored to their former owners: ſo they took all poſſible means to traverſe the negotiation, and to inflame the Emperor. There ſeemed to be ſome probability, of bringing Prince Eugene marches to raiſe it.

1706. things to a ſettlement, but that could not be brought to any concluſion, during the term of the ceſſation; when that was lapſed, the Emperor could not be prevailed on to renew it: He recalled his troops from the Upper Rhine, though that was contrary to all his agreements with the empire. Notwithſtanding all this ill management of the court of Vienna, Prince Eugene got together the greateſt part of thoſe troops, that he expected in the Veroneſe, before the end of June: They were not yet all come up, but he, believing himſelf ſtrong enough, reſolved to advance; and he left the Prince of Heſſe, with a body to receive the reſt, and by them to force a diverſion, while he ſhould be going on. The Duke of Vendome had taken care of all the fords of the Adige, the Mincio, and the Oglio; and had caſt up ſuch lines and entrenchments every where, that he had aſſured the court of France, it was not poſſible for Prince Eugene to break thro' all that oppoſition, at leaſt to do it in any time to relieve Turin. By this time the Duke of Orleans was come to take the army out of Vendome's hands: but before that Duke had left it, they ſaw that he had reckoned wrong, in all thoſe hopes he had given the court of France, of ſtopping Prince Eugene's march. For, in the beginning of July, he ſent a few battalions over one of the fords of the Adige, where the French were well poſted, and double their number; yet they ran away with ſuch precipitation, that they left every thing behind them: Upon that, Prince Eugene paſſed the Adige, with his whole army, and the French, in a conſternation, retired behind the Mincio. After this, Prince Eugene ſurprized the French with a motion, that they had not looked for, nor prepared againſt, for he paſſed the Po; the Duke of Orleans followed him, but declined an engagement; whereupon Prince Eugene wrote to the Duke of Marlborough, that he felt the effects of the battle of Ramellies, even in Italy, the French ſeeming to be every where diſpirited

ed with their misfortunes. Prince Eugene, marching nearer the Apennines, had gained some days march of the Duke of Orleans; upon which, that Duke repassed the Po, and advanced with such haste towards Turin, that he took no care of the pass at Stradella, which might have been kept and disputed for some days: Prince Eugene found no opposition there; nor did he meet with any other difficulty, but from the length of the march, and the heat of the season; for he was in motion all the months of July and August. 1706.

In the beginning of September, the Duke of Savoy joined him, with the small remnants of his army, and they hasted on to Turin. The Duke of Orleans had got thither before them, and the place was now reduced to the last extremities; the Duke of Orleans, with most of the chief officers, were for marching out of the trenches; Marsin was of another mind, and when he found it hard to maintain his opinion, he produced positive orders for it, which put an end to the debate. The Duke of Savoy saw the necessity of attacking them, in their trenches; his army consisted of 28000 men, but they were good troops; the French were above 40000, and in a well fortified camp; yet after two hours resistance, the Duke of Savoy broke through, and then there was a great destruction; the French flying in much disorder, and leaving a vast treasure in their camp, besides great stores of provisions, ammunition and artillery. It was so entire a defeat, that not above 1600 men, of that great army, got off in a body; and they made all the haste they could into Dauphiny. The Duke of Savoy went into Turin; where it may be easily imagined, he was received with much joy; the garrison, for want of powder, was not in a condition to make a sally on the French, while he attacked them; the French were pursued as far as men, wearied with such an action, could follow them, and many prisoners were taken. The Duke of Orleans, though

The French army routed, and the siege raised.

1706. he loſt the day, yet gave great demonſtrations of courage, and received ſeveral wounds: Mareſchal Marſin fell into the enemies hands, but died of his wounds in a few hours; and upon him all the errors of this diſmal day were caſt, though the heavieſt part of the load fell on Chamillard, who was then in the ſupreme degree of favour at court, and was entirely poſſeſſed of madam Maintenon's confidence. Feuillade had married his daughter, and in order to the advancing him, he had the command of this ſiege given him, which was thus obſtinately purſued, till it ended in this fatal manner. The obſtinacy continued, for the King ſent orders, for a month together, to the Duke of Orleans, to march back into Piedmont, when it was abſolutely impoſſible; yet repeated orders were ſent, and the reaſon of this was underſtood afterwards: madam Maintenon (it ſeems) took that care of the King's health and humour, that ſhe did not ſuffer the ill ſtate of his affairs to be fully told him: He, all that while, was made believe, that the ſiege was only raiſed, upon the advance of Prince Eugene's army; and knew not that his own was defeated and ruined. I am not enough verſed in military affairs, to offer any judgment upon that point, whether they did well or ill, not to go out of their camp to fight: It is certain, that the fight was more diſorderly, and the loſs was much greater, by reaſon of their lying within their lines: In this I have known men of the trade of different opinions.

While this was done at Turin, the Prince of Heſſe advanced to the Mincio, which the French abandoned; but as he went to take Caſtiglione, Medavi, the French General, ſurprized him, and cut off about 2000 of his men; upon which he was forced to retire to the Adige. The French magnified this exceſſively, hoping with the noiſe they made about it, to balance their real loſs at Turin. The Prince of Vaudemont, upon the news from Turin, left the city of Milan, and retired, with the ſmall force he

he had, to Cremona: The Duke of Savoy and Prince Eugene marched, with all haſte, into the Milaneze: The city of Milan was opened to them; but the citadel and ſome ſtrong places, that had garriſons in them, ſtood out ſome time; yet place after place capitulated, ſo that it was viſible, all would quickly fall into their hands. 1706.

Such a ſucceſſion of eminent misfortunes, in one campaign, and in ſo many different places, was without example: It made all people conclude, that the time was come, in which the perfidy, the tyranny, and the cruelty of that King's long and bloody reign, was now to be repaid him, with the ſame ſevere meaſure, with which he had formerly treated others: But the ſecrets of God are not to be too boldly pried into, till he is pleaſed to diſplay them to us more openly. It is certainly a year, that deſerves to be long and much remembred.

The King of Sweden marched into Saxony.

In the end of the campaign, in which Poland had been haraſſed, with the continuance of the war, but without any great action; the King of Sweden, ſeeing that King Auguſtus ſupported his affairs in Poland, by the ſupplies both of men and money, that he drew from his electorate, reſolved to ſtop that reſſource: So he marched through Sileſia and Luſatia into Saxony. He quickly made himſelf maſter of an open country, that was looking for no ſuch invaſion, and was in no ſort prepared for it, and had few ſtrong places in it, capable of any reſiſtance: The rich town of Leipſick and all the reſt of the country was, without any oppoſition, put under contribution. All the empire was alarmed at this; it was at firſt apprehended, that it was ſet on by the French councils, to raiſe a new war in Germany, and to put the North all in a flame. The King of Sweden gave it out, that he had no deſign to give any diſturbance to the empire: That he intended, by this

1706. march, only to bring the war of Poland to a ſpeedy concluſion; and it was reaſonable to believe, that ſuch an unlooked for incident would ſoon bring that war to a criſis.

A treaty of union concluded

This was the ſtate of our affairs abroad, in this glorious and ever-memorable year. At home, another matter of great conſequence was put in a good and promiſing method: The commiſſioners of both kingdoms ſate cloſe in a treaty, till about the middle of July; in concluſion, they prepared a compleat ſcheme of an entire union of both nations: Some particulars being only referred, to be ſettled by their Parliaments reſpectively. When every thing was agreed to, they preſented one copy of the treaty to the Queen, and each ſide had a copy, to be preſented to their reſpective Parliament, all the three copies being ſigned by the Commiſſioners of both kingdoms: It was reſolved to lay the matter firſt before the Parliament of Scotland, becauſe it was apprehended, that it would meet with the greateſt oppoſition there.

The union of the two kingdoms was a work, of which many had quite deſpaired, in which number I was one; and thoſe who entertained better hopes, thought it muſt have run out into a long negotiation for ſeveral years: But beyond all mens expectation, it was begun and finiſhed, within the compaſs of one. The Commiſſioners, brought up from Scotland, for the treaty, were ſo ſtrangely choſen (the far greater number having continued in an oppoſition to the government, ever ſince the revolution) that from thence many concluded, that it was not ſincerely deſigned by the miniſtry, when they ſaw ſuch a nomination. This was a piece of the Earl of Stair's cunning, who did heartily promote the deſign: He then thought, that if ſuch a number of thoſe, who were looked on as Jacobites, and were popular men on that account, among the diſaffected there, could

The articles of the union.

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be ſo wrought on, as to be engaged in the affair, 1706.
the work would be much the eaſier, when laid be-
fore the Parliament of Scotland: And in this the event ſhewed, that he took right meaſures. The Lord Somers had the chief hand, in projecting the ſcheme of the union, into which all the Commiſſioners of the Engliſh nation went very eaſily: The advantages, that were offered to Scotland, in the whole frame of it, were ſo great, and ſo viſible, that nothing but the conſideration of the ſafety, that was to be procured by it to England, could have brought the Engliſh to agree to a project, that, in every branch of it, was much more favourable to the Scotch nation.

They were to bear leſs, than the fortieth part of the publick taxes: When four ſhillings in the pound was levied in England, which amounted to two millions, Scotland was only to be taxed at 48000 pounds, which was eight months aſſeſſment: They had been accuſtomed for ſome years to pay this, and they ſaid it was all that the nation could bear. It is held a maxim, that in the framing of a government, a proportion ought to be obſerved, between the ſhare in the legiſlature, and the burden to be born; yet in return of the fortieth part of the burden, they offered the Scotch near the eleventh part of the legiſlature: For the Peers of Scotland were to be repreſented, by ſixteen Peers in the Houſe of Lords, and the Commons, by forty-five members in the Houſe of Commons; and theſe were to be choſen, according to the methods, to be ſettled in the Parliament of Scotland. And ſince Scotland was to pay cuſtoms and exciſes, on the ſame foot with England, and was to bear a ſhare in paying much of the debt, England had contracted during the war; 398000 pounds was to be raiſed in England, and ſent into Scotland, as an equivalent for that; and that was to be applied to the recoining the money, that all might be of one denomination and ſtandard, and to paying the pub-

1706. lick debts of Scotland, and repaying, to their African company, all their loſſes with intereſt; upon which that company was to be diſſolved; and the over-plus of the equivalent was to be applied, to the encouragement of manufactures. Trade was to be free all over the iſland, and to the plantations; private rights were to be preſerved; and the judicatories and laws of Scotland were ſtill to be continued: But all was put, for the future, under the regulation of the Parliament of Great Britain; the two nations now were to be one kingdom, under the ſame ſucceſſion to the Crown, and united in one Parliament. There was no proviſion made in this treaty, with relation to religion: For in the acts of Parliament, in both kingdoms, that empowered the Queen to name Commiſſioners, there was an expreſs limitation, that they ſhould not treat of thoſe matters.

Debated long in the Parliament of Scotland.

This was the ſubſtance of the articles of the treaty, which being laid before the Parliament of Scotland, met with great oppoſition there. It was viſible, that the nobility of that kingdom ſuffered a great diminution by it; for though it was agreed, that they ſhould enjoy all the other privileges of the Peers of England, yet the greateſt of them all, which was the voting in the Houſe of Lords, was reſtrained to ſixteen, to be elected by the reſt at every new Parliament; yet there was a greater majority of the nobility, that concurred in voting for the union, than in the other States of that kingdom. The Commiſſioners from the ſhires and boroughs were almoſt equally divided; though it was evident they were to be the chief gainers by it; among theſe the union was agreed to, by a very ſmall majority: It was the nobility, that in every vote turned the ſcale for the union: They were ſeverely reflected on, by thoſe who oppoſed it; it was ſaid, many of them were bought off, to ſell their country and their birth-right: All thoſe, who adhered inflexibly to the Jacobite intereſt, oppoſed

every ſtep that was made, with great vehemence; 1706.
for they ſaw that the union ſtruck at the root of all their views and deſigns, for a new revolution. Yet theſe could not have raiſed or maintained ſo great an oppoſition, as was now made; if the Preſbyterians had not been poſſeſſed with a jealouſy, that the conſequence of this union would be, the change of church-government among them, and that they would be ſwallowed up by the church of England. This took ſuch root in many, that no aſſurances, that were offered, could remove their fears: It was infuſed in them chiefly by the old Dutcheſs of Hamilton, who had great credit with them: And it was ſuggeſted, that ſhe, and her ſon, had particular views, as hoping, that if Scotland ſhould continue a ſeparated kingdom, the Crown might come into their family, they being the next in blood, after King James's poſterity. The infuſion of ſuch apprehenſions had a great effect on the main body of that party, who could ſcarce be brought to hearken, but never to accept of the offers, that were made for ſecuring their Preſbyterian government. A great part of the gentry of that kingdom, who had been oft in England, and had obſerved the protection, that all men had from a Houſe of Commons, and the ſecurity that it procured, againſt partial judges, and a violent miniſtry, entred into the deſign with great zeal. The opening a free trade, not only with England, but with the plantations, and the protection of the fleet of England, drew in thoſe who underſtood theſe matters, and ſaw there was no other way in view, to make the nation rich and conſiderable. Thoſe who had engaged far into the deſign of Darien, and were great loſers by it, ſaw now an honourable way to be reimburſed, which made them wiſh well to the union, and promote it. But that which advanced the deſign moſt effectually, and without which, it could not have ſucceeded, was, that a conſiderable number of noblemen and gen-

1706. gentlemen, who were in no engagements with the court (on the contrary, they had been diſobliged, and turned out of great poſts, and ſome very lately) declared for it. Theſe kept themſelves very cloſe and united, and ſeemed to have no other intereſt, but that of their country, and were for that reaſon called the Squadrone: The chief of theſe were, the Marquis of Tweedale, the Earls of Rothes, Roxburgh, Hadington, and Marchmont; they were in great credit, becauſe they had no viſible biaſs on their minds; ill uſage had provoked them rather to oppoſe the miniſtry, than to concur in any thing, where the chief honour would be carried away by others. When they were ſpoke to by the miniſtry, they anſwered coldly, and with great reſerves, ſo it was expected they would have concurred in the oppoſition, and they being between twenty and thirty in number, if they had ſet themſelves againſt the union, the deſign muſt have miſcarried. But they continued ſtill ſilent, till the firſt diviſion of the Houſe obliged them to declare, and then, they not only joined in it, but promoted it effectually, and with zeal: There were great and long debates, managed on the ſide of the union, by the Earls of Seafield and Stair for the Miniſtry, and of the Squadrone by the Earl of Roxburgh and Marchmont; and againſt it by the Dukes of Hamilton and Athol and the Marquis of Annandale. The Duke of Athol was believed to be in a foreign correſpondence, and was much ſet on violent methods: Duke Hamilton managed the debate with great vehemence, but was againſt all deſperate motions: He had much to loſe, and was reſolved not to venture all, with thoſe who ſuggeſted the neceſſity of running, in the old Scotch way, to extremities. The topicks, from which the arguments againſt the union were drawn, were the antiquity and dignity of their kingdom, which was offered to be given up, and ſold: They were departing from an inde-

pendent ſtate, and going to ſink into a dependence on England; what conditions ſoever might be now ſpeciouſly offered, as a ſecurity to them, they could not expect that they ſhould be adhered to, or religiouſly maintained in a Parliament, where ſixteen peers and forty five commoners could not hold the ballance, againſt above an hundred peers and five hundred and thirteen commoners. Scotland would be no more conſidered as formerly by foreign Princes and States: Their peers would be precarious and elective: They magnified their Crown, with the other regalia ſo much, that ſince the nation ſeemed reſolved never to ſuffer them to be carried away, it was provided, in a new clauſe added to the articles, that theſe ſhould ſtill remain within the kingdom. They inſiſted moſt vehemently on the danger, that the conſtitution of their church muſt be in, when all ſhould be under the power of a Britiſh Parliament: This was preſſed with fury by ſome, who were known to be the moſt violent enemies to Preſbytery, of any in that nation: But it was done on deſign, to inflame that body of men by thoſe apprehenſions, and ſo to engage them to perſiſt in their oppoſition. To allay that heat, after the general vote was carried for the union, before they entered on the conſideration of the particular articles, an act was prepared for ſecuring the Preſbyterian Government: By which it was declared to be the only government of that church, unalterable in all ſucceeding times, and the maintaining it was declared to be a fundamental and eſſential article and condition of the union; and this act was to be made a part of the act for the union, which in the conſequence of that, was to be ratified by another act of Parliament in England. Thus thoſe, who were the greateſt enemies to Preſbytery, of any in the nation, raiſed the clamour of the danger that form of government would be in, if the union went on, to ſuch a heighth, that by their means this act was carried, as far as 1706.

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1706. any human law could go, for their ſecurity: For by this, they had, not only all the ſecurity that their own Parliament could give them, but they were to have the faith and authority of the Parliament of England, it being, in the ſtipulation, made an eſſential condition of the union: The carrying this matter ſo far, was done in hopes, that the Parliament of England would never be brought to paſs it. This act was paſſed, and it gave an entire ſatisfaction to thoſe, who were diſpoſed to receive any; but nothing could ſatisfy men, who made uſe of this, only to inflame others. Thoſe who oppoſed the union, finding the majority was againſt them, ſtudied to raiſe a ſtorm without doors, to frighten them: A ſet of addreſſes againſt the union were ſent round all the countries, in which, thoſe who oppoſed it, had any intereſt: There came up many of theſe, in the name of counties and boroughs, and at laſt, from pariſhes: This made ſome noiſe abroad, but was very little conſidered there, when it was known, by whoſe arts and practices they were procured. When this appeared to have little effect, pains were taken to animate the rabble to violent attempts, both at Edinburgh, and at Glaſgow. Sir Patrick Johnſton Lord provoſt of Edinburgh, had been one of the commiſſioners, and had concurred heartily in the deſign: A great multitude gathered about his houſe, and were forcing the doors on deſign, as was believed, to murder him; but guards came and diſperſed them. Upon this attempt, the Privy-Council ſet out a proclamation againſt all ſuch riots, and gave orders for quartering the guards within the town: But to ſhew, that this was not intended to over-awe the Parliament, the whole matter was laid before them, and the proceedings of the Privy-Council were approved. No other violent attempt was made after this, but the body of the people ſhewed ſo much ſullenneſs, that probably, had any perſon of authority once kindled the fire, they ſeemed to be of

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ſuch combuſtible matter, that the union might have caſt that nation into great convulſions. 1706.
Theſe things made great impreſſions on the Duke of Queenſbury, and on ſome about him: He deſpaired of ſucceeding, and he apprehended his perſon might be in danger: One about him wrote to my Lord Treaſurer, repreſenting the ill temper the nation was generally in, and moved for an adjournment, that ſo with the help of ſome time and good management, thoſe difficulties, which ſeemed then inſuperable, might be conquered. The Lord Treaſurer told me, his anſwer was, that a delay was, upon the matter, laying the whole deſign aſide; orders were given, both in England and Ireland, to have troops ready upon call; and if it was neceſſary, more forces ſhould be ordered from Flanders: The French were in no condition to ſend any aſſiſtance to thoſe, who might break out, ſo that the circumſtances of the time were favourable; he deſired therefore, that they would go on, and not be alarmed at the fooliſh behaviour of ſome, who, whatever might be given out in their names, he believed, had more wit than to ruin themſelves. Every ſtep that was made, and every vote that was carried, was with the ſame ſtrength, and met with the ſame oppoſition: Both parties giving ſtrict attendance during the whole ſeſſion, which laſted for three months. Many proteſtations were printed, with every man's vote: In concluſion, the whole articles of the treaty were agreed to, with ſome ſmall variations. The Earl of Stair, having maintained the debate on the laſt day, in which, all was concluded, died the next night ſuddenly, his ſpirits being quite exhauſted by the length and vehemence of the debate. The act paſſed, and was ſent up to London in the beginning of February. 1707. At laſt agreed to.

The Queen laid it before the two Houſes; the Houſe of Commons agreed to it all, without any oppoſition, ſo ſoon, that it was thought they interpoſed not delay and conſideration enough, ſuitable

1707. able to the importance of ſo great a tranſaction. The debates were longer and more ſolemn in the Houſe of Lords; the Archbiſhop of Canterbury moved, that a bill might be brought in, for ſecuring the church of England; by it, all acts, paſſed in favour of our church, were declared to be in full force for ever; and this was made a fundamental and eſſential part of the union. Some exceptions were taken to the words of the bill, as not ſo ſtrong as the act paſſed in Scotland ſeemed to be, ſince the government of it was not declared to be unalterable: But they were judged more proper, ſince where a ſupreme legiſlature is once acknowledged, nothing can be unalterable. After this was over, the Lords entered upon the conſideration of the articles, as they were amended in Scotland; it was pretended, that here a new conſtitution was made, the conſequence of which, they ſaid, was the altering all the laws of England. All the judges were of opinion, that there was no weight in this; great exceptions were taken to the ſmall proportion, Scotland was rated at, in the laying on of taxes; and their election of peers, to every new Parliament, was ſaid to be contrary to the nature of peerage. To all the objections that were offered, this general anſwer was made, that ſo great a thing, as the uniting the whole iſland into one government, could not be compaſſed, but with ſome inconveniencies: But if the advantage of ſafety and union, was greater than thoſe inconveniencies, then a leſſer evil muſt be ſubmitted to. An elective peer was indeed a great prejudice to the Peers of Scotland, but ſince they had ſubmitted to it, there was no juſt occaſion given to the Peers of England to complain of it. But the debate held longeſt upon the matters, relating to the government of the church; it was ſaid here was a real danger the church ran into, when ſo many votes, of perſons tied to Preſbytery, were admitted to a ſhare in the legiſlature. All the

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rigour, with which the epiſcopal Clergy had been treated in Scotland, was ſet forth, to ſhew with how implacable a temper they were ſet againſt the Church of England; yet, in return to all that, it was now demanded, from the men of this church, to enact, that the Scotch form ſhould continue unalterable, and to admit thoſe to vote among us, who were ſuch declared enemies to our conſtitution. Here was a plauſible ſubject for popular eloquence, and a great deal of it was brought out upon this occaſion, by Hooper, Beveridge, and ſome other Biſhops, and by the Earls of Rocheſter and Nottingham. But to all this it was anſwered, that the chief dangers the church was in, were from France and from Popery: ſo that whatſoever ſecured us from theſe, delivered us from our juſteſt fears. Scotland lay on the weakeſt ſide of England, where it could not be defended, but by an army: The collieries on the Tine lay expoſed for ſeveral miles, and could not be preſerved, but at a great charge, and with a great force: If a war ſhould fall out between the two nations, and if Scotland ſhould be conquered, yet, even in that caſe, it muſt be united to England, or kept under by an army: The danger of keeping up a ſtanding force, in the hands of any Prince, and to be modelled by him (who might engage the Scotch to join with that army and turn upon England) was viſible: and any union, after ſuch a conqueſt, would look like a force, and ſo could not be laſting; whereas all was now voluntary. As for church matters, there had been ſuch violence uſed by all ſides in their turns, that none of them could reproach the others much, without having it returned upon them too juſtly. A ſofter management would lay thoſe heats, and bring men to a better temper: The Cantons of Switerzland, though very zealous in their different religions, yet were united in one general body: The diet of Germany was compoſed of men of three different religions: 1707.

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1707. ſo that ſeveral conſtitutions of churches might be put under one legiſlature; and if there was a danger of either ſide, it was much more likely that 513 would be too hard for 45, than that 45 would maſter 513; eſpecially when the Crown was on their ſide: and there were twenty ſix Biſhops in the Houſe of Lords, to outweigh the ſixteen votes from Scotland. It was indeed ſaid, that all in England were not zealous for the church; to which it was anſwered, that by the ſame reaſon it might be concluded, that all thoſe of Scotland were not zealous for their way, eſpecially when the favour of the court lay in the Engliſh ſcale. The matter was argued, for the union, by the Biſhops of Oxford, Norwich and my ſelf, by the Lord Treaſurer, the Earls of Sunderland and Wharton, and the Lords Townſhend and Halifax; but above all, by the Lord Somers. Every diviſion of the houſe was made, with ſo great an inequality, that they were but 20, againſt 50 that were for the union. When all was agreed to, in both houſes, a bill was ordered to be brought in to enact it; which was prepared by Harcourt, with ſo particular a contrivance, that it cut off all debates. The preamble was a recital of the articles, as they were paſſed in Scotland, together with the Acts made in both Parliaments, for the ſecurity of their ſeveral churches; and in concluſion, there came one enacting clauſe, ratifying all. This put thoſe upon great difficulties, who had reſolved to object to ſeveral articles, and to inſiſt on demanding ſome alterations in them: for they could not come at any debate about them; they could not object to the recital, it being merely matter of fact; and they had not ſtrength enough, to oppoſe the general enacting clauſe, nor was it eaſy to come at particulars and to offer proviſo's relating to them. The matter was carried on with ſuch zeal, that it paſſed through the Houſe of Commons, before thoſe, who intended to oppoſe it, had recovered themſelves out of the

the ſurprize, under which the form, it was drawn in, had put them. It did not ſtick long in the Houſe of Lords, for all the articles had been copiouſly debated there for ſeveral days, before the bill was ſent up to them: And thus this great deſign, ſo long wiſhed and laboured for in vain, was begun, and happily ended, within the compaſs of nine months. The union was to commence on the firſt of May, and 'till that time, the two kingdoms were ſtill diſtinct, and their two Parliaments continued ſtill to ſit. 1707.

In Scotland, they proceeded to diſpoſe of the ſum, provided to be the equivalent: In this, great partialities appeared, which were much complained of; but there was not ſtrength to oppoſe them. The miniſtry, and thoſe who depended on them, moved for very extravagant allowances to thoſe, who had been employed in this laſt, and in the former treaty; and they made large allotments, of ſome publick debts, that were complained of as unreaſonable and unjuſt; by which, a great part of the ſum was diverted, from anſwering the end, for which it was given. This was much oppoſed by the Squadrone; but as the miniſters promoted it, and thoſe, who were to get by it, made all the intereſt they could to obtain it (ſome few of them only excepted, who, as became generous patriots, ſhewed more regard to the publick, than to their private ends) ſo thoſe, who had oppoſed the union, were not ill pleaſed to ſee this ſum ſo miſapplied; hoping by that means, that the averſion, which they endeavoured to infuſe into the nation againſt the union would be much encreaſed; therefore they let every thing go as the miniſters propoſed, to the great grief of thoſe, who wiſhed well to the publick. It was reſolved, that the Parliament of England ſhould ſit out its period, which, by the law for Triennial Parliaments, ran yet a year further; it was thought neceſſary, to have another ſeſſion continued of the ſame men, who had made

The equivalent diſpoſed of.

1707. this union, since they would more readily consolidate and strengthen their own work. Upon this ground, it seemed most proper that the members, to represent Scotland, should be named by the Parliament there: Those, who had opposed the union, carried their aversion to the Squadrone so far, that they concurred with the ministry in a nomination, in which very few of them were included, not above three of the peers, and fifteen commoners; so that great and just exceptions lay against many, who were nominated to represent that kingdom: All this was very acceptable to those, who had opposed the union. The customs of Scotland were then in a farm, and the farmers were the creatures of the ministry, some of whom, as was believed, were sharers with them: It was visible, that since there was to be a free trade opened, between Scotland and England, after the first of May, and since the duties in Scotland, laid on trade, were much lower than in England, that there would be a great importation into Scotland, on the prospect of the advantage, that might be made by sending it into England. Upon such an emergency, it was reasonable to break the farm, as had been ordinarily done upon less reason, and to take the customs into a new management, that so the gain, to be made in the interval, might go to the publick, and not be left in private hands: But the lease was continued in favour of the farmers. They were men of no interest of their own, so it was not doubted, but that there was a secret practice in the case. Upon the view of the gain, to be made by such an importation, it was understood, that orders were sent to Holland, and other places, to buy up wine, brandy, and other merchandize. And another notorious fraud was designed by some in England; who, because of the great draw-back, that was allowed for tobacco and other plantation commodities, when exported, were sending great quantities to Scotland, on design to bring them back after

after the first of May, that so they might sell them free of that duty: So a bill was offered to the House of Commons, for preventing this. While this was going on, Harley proposed the joining another clause, to this effect; That all goods, that were carried to Scotland, after the first of February (unless it were by the natural-born subjects of that kingdom, inhabiting in it) in case they were imported into England after the first of May, should be liable to the English duties; and of this the proof was to lie on the importer. This angred all the Scotch, who raised a high clamour upon it, and said the union was broke by it; and that such a proceeding would have very ill effects in Scotland. But the House of Commons were so alarmed, with the news of a vast importation, which was aggravated far beyond the truth, and by which they concluded the trade of England would greatly suffer, at least for a year or two, that they passed the bill, and sent it to the Lords, where it was rejected; for it appeared plainly to them, that this was an infraction of some of the articles of the treaty. It was suggested, that a recess for some days was necessary. that so the Commons might have an opportunity to prepare a bill, prohibiting all goods from being brought to England, that had been sent out, only in order that the merchants might have the draw-back allowed. With this view, the Parliament was prorogued for a few days; but at their next meeting, the Commons were more inflamed than before: So they prepared a new bill, to the same effect, only in some clauses it was more severe than the former had been: But the Lords did not agree to it, and so it fell. 1707.

Thus far I have carried on the recital of this great transaction, rather in such a general view, as may transmit it right to posterity, than in so copious a narration, as an affair of such consequence might seem to deserve: It is very probable, that a particular journal, of the debates in the Parliament of

1707. Scotland, which were long and fierce, may at ſome time or other be made publick: But I hope this may ſuffice for a hiſtory. I cannot, upon ſuch a ſignal occaſion, reſtrain myſelf from making ſome reflections, on the directions of Providence in this matter. It is certain the deſign on Darien, the great charge it put the nation to, and the total miſcarriage of that project, made the trading part of that kingdom ſee the impoſſibility of undertaking any great deſign in trade; and that made them the more readily concur, in carrying on the union. The wiſer men of that nation had obſerved long, that Scotland lay at the mercy of the Miniſtry, and that every new ſet of Miniſters made uſe of their power, to enrich themſelves and their creatures, at the coſt of the publick; that the Judges, being made by them, were in ſuch a dependence, that ſince there are no juries allowed in Scotland in civil matters, the whole property of the kingdom was in their hands, and by their means in the hands of the Miniſters: They had alſo obſerved, how ineffectual it had been to complain of them at court: It put thoſe, who ventured on it, to a vaſt charge, to no other purpoſe, but to expoſe them the more to the fury of the Miniſtry. The poor noblemen, and the poor boroughs made a great majority in their Parliament, and were eaſily to be purchaſed by the court: ſo they ſaw no hopes of a remedy to ſuch a miſchief, but by an incorporating union with England. Theſe thoughts were much quickned, by the proſpect of recovering, what they had loſt in that ill concerted undertaking of Darien; and this was ſo univerſal and ſo operative, that the deſign on Darien, which the Jacobites had ſet on foot and proſecuted with ſo much fury, and with bad intentions, did now engage many to promote the union, who, without that conſideration, would have been at leaſt neutral, if not backward in it. The court was engaged to promote the union, on account of the act of ſecurity, paſt in the year 1704, which was imputed chiefly to the

Reflections on the Union.

Lord

Lord Treaſurer: Threatnings, of impeaching him for adviſing it, had been often let fall, and upon that, his enemies had ſet their chief hopes of pulling him down: for though no proof could be brought of his counſel in it, yet it was not doubted, but that his advice had determined the Queen to paſs it. An impeachment was a word of an odious ſound, which would engage a party againſt him, and diſorder a ſeſſion of Parliament; and the leaſt ill effect it might have, would be to oblige him to withdraw from buſineſs, which was chiefly aimed at. The Queen was very ſenſible, that his managing the great truſt he was in, in the manner he did, made all the reſt of her government both ſafe and eaſy to her; ſo ſhe ſpared no pains to bring this about, and it was believed ſhe was at no ſmall coſt to compaſs it, for thoſe of Scotland had learned from England, to ſet a price on their votes, and they expected to be well paid for them: The Lord Treaſurer did alſo beſtir himſelf in this matter, with an activity and zeal, that ſeemed not to be in his nature: and indeed, all the application, with which the court ſet on this affair, was neceſſary to maſter the oppoſition and difficulties, that ſprang up in the progreſs of it. That which compleated all was, the low ſtate to which the affairs of France were reduced: They could neither ſpare men, nor money, to ſupport their party, which otherwiſe they would undoubtedly have done: They had, in imitation of the Exchequer-Bills here in England, given out Mint-Bills to a great value; ſome ſaid two hundred millions of livres: Theſe were ordered to be taken, by the ſubjects in all payments, as money to the full value, but were not to be received in payments of the King's taxes: This put them under a great diſcredit, and the fund created, for repaying them, not being thought a good one, they had ſunk 70 per Cent. This created an inexpreſſible diſorder in all payments, and in the whole commerce of France: All the methods, that were propoſed for raiſing their credit, had proved ineſ- 1707.

1707. fectual; for they remained after all, at the diſcount of 58 per Cent. A court, in this diſtreſs, was not in a condition to ſpare much, to ſupport ſuch an inconſiderable intereſt, as they eſteemed their party in Scotland: ſo they had not the aſſiſtance, which they promiſed themſelves from thence. The conjuncture, of all theſe things meeting together, which brought this great work to a happy concluſion, was ſo remarkable, that I hope my laying it all in one view, will be thought no impertinent digreſſion.

This was the chief buſineſs of the ſeſſion of Parliament: and it was brought about, here in England, both ſooner, and with leſs difficulty, than was expected. The grant of the ſupplies went on quicker than was uſual. There was only one particular, to which great objections were made: Upon the great and early ſucceſs of the former campaign, it was thought neceſſary to follow that, with other projects, that drew on a great expence, beyond what had been eſtimated, and laid before the Parliament. An imbarkation, firſt deſigned againſt France, and afterwards ſent to Portugal; and the extraordinary ſupplies, that the Duke of Savoy's affairs called for, amounted to about 800,000l. more, than had been provided for by Parliament. Some complained of this, and ſaid, that if a Miniſtry could thus run the nation into a great charge, and expect that the Parliament muſt pay the reckoning, this might have very ill conſequences. But to this it was anſwered, that a Miniſtry deſerved publick thanks, that had followed our advantages with ſuch vigour: If any thing was raiſed without neceſſity, or ill applied, under the pretence of ſerving the publick, it was very reaſonable to enquire into it, and to let it fall heavy on thoſe, who were in fault: But if no other exception lay to it, than becauſe the matter could not be foreſeen, nor communicated to the Parliament, before thoſe accidents happened, that occaſioned the expence,

The ſupplies were granted.

pence, it was a very unjuſt diſcouragement, if Miniſters were to be quarrelled with, for their care and zeal: So it was carried by a great majority, to diſcharge this debt. All the other ſupplies, and among them the equivalent for Scotland, were given, and lodged on good funds: So that no ſeſſion of Parliament had ever raiſed ſo much, and ſecured it ſo well, as this had done. The ſeſſion came to a happy concluſion, and the Parliament to an end. But the Queen, by virtue of a clauſe in the act of union, revived it by proclamation. Upon this, many of the Scotch Lords came up, and were very well received; two of them, Montroſe and Roxburgh, were made Dukes in Scotland; ſome of them were made privy Counſellors in England; and a commiſſion, for a new Council, was ſent to Scotland: There appeared ſoon two different parties among the Scotch; ſome of them moved, that there ſhould neither be a diſtinct government, nor a Privy Council continued there, but that all ſhould be brought under one adminiſtration, as the ſeveral counties in England were; they ſaid, the ſooner all were conſolidated, in all reſpects, into one body, the poſſibility of ſeparating and diſuniting them, would be the ſooner extinguiſhed; this was preſſed with the moſt earneſtneſs by thoſe, who were weary of the preſent Miniſtry, and longed to ſee their power at an end: But the Miniſtry, who had a mind to keep up their authority, ſaid, there was a neceſſity of preſerving a ſhew of greatneſs, and a form of government in thoſe parts, both for ſubduing the Jacobites, and that the nation might not be diſguſted, by too ſudden an alteration of outward appearances. The court reſolved to maintain the Miniſtry there, till the next ſeſſion of Parliament, in which new meaſures might be taken. Thus our affairs were happily ſettled at home, and the firſt of May was celebrated, with a decent ſolemnity, for then the union took place. 1707.

1707. The Convocation ſat this winter; and the ſame temper, that had for ſome years poſſeſſed the lower houſe, did ſtill prevail among them: When the debates concerning the union were before the Parliament, ſome in the Lower Houſe ſpoke very tragically on that ſubject: a committee was named to conſider of the preſent danger of the church, though but a little while before, they had concurred with the biſhops, in a very reſpectful addreſs to the Queen, in which it was acknowledged, that the church was, under her Majeſty's adminiſtration, in a ſafe and flouriſhing condition: This was carried, by the private management of ſome aſpiring men amongſt them, who hoped by a piece of ſkill to ſhew what they could do, that it might recommend them to farther preferment; they were much cried out on as betrayers of their party, for carrying that addreſs; ſo to recover their credit, and becauſe their hopes from the court were not ſo promiſing, they reſolved now to act another part. It was given out, that they intended to make an application to the Houſe of Commons, againſt the union; to prevent that, the Queen wrote to the Archbiſhop, ordering him to prorogue them for three weeks: by this means that deſign was defeated, for before the end of the three weeks, the union had paſſed both Houſes. But, when one factious deſign failed, they found out another; they ordered a repreſentation to be made to the Biſhops, which ſet forth, that ever ſince the ſubmiſſion of the clergy in Henry the VIII's time, which was for a courſe of 173 years, no ſuch prorogation had ever been ordered, during the ſitting of Parliament: and they beſought the Biſhops, that from the conſcientious regard, which they doubted not they had, for the welfare of this church, they would uſe their utmoſt endeavours, that they might ſtill enjoy thoſe uſages, of which they were poſſeſſed, and which they had never miſemployed: With this, they brought up a ſchedule, containing, as they ſaid, all the dates of the prorogations, both of Par-

Proceedings in Convocation.

liament and Convocation, thereby to make good their aſſertion: And to cover this ſeeming complaint of the Queen's proceedings, they paſſed a vote, that they did not intend to enter into any debate, concerning the validity of the late prorogation, to which they had humbly ſubmitted. It was found to be a ſtrange and a bold aſſertion, that this prorogation was without a precedent: Their charge, in the preſerving their uſages, on the conſciences of the Biſhops, inſinuated that this was a breach made on them: The Biſhops ſaw this was plainly an attempt on the Queen's ſupremacy; ſo they ordered it to be laid before her Majeſty: and they ordered alſo a ſearch to be made into the records. For though it was an undoubted maxim, that nothing but a poſitive law could limit the prerogative, which a non-uſage could not do; yet they ordered the ſchedule, offered by the Lower Houſe, to be compared with the records: they found that ſeven or eight prorogations had been ordered, during the ſitting of Parliament, and there were about thirty or forty more, by which it appeared, that the Convocation ſat ſometimes before, and ſometimes after a ſeſſion of Parliament, and ſat ſometimes, even when the Parliament was diſſolved. Upon all this, the Queen wrote another more ſevere letter to the Archbiſhop, complaining of the clergy, for not only continuing their illegal practices, but reflecting on her late order, as without a precedent, and contrary to antient uſages; which as it was untrue in fact, ſo it was an invaſion of her ſupremacy: She had ſhewed much tenderneſs to the clergy, but if any thing of this nature ſhould be attempted for the future, ſhe would uſe means warranted by law, for puniſhing offenders, how unwilling ſoever ſhe might be to proceed to ſuch meaſures. When the day came, on which this was to be communicated to the Lower Houſe, the Prolocutor had gone out of town, without ſo much as aſking the Archbiſhop's leave, ſo a very ſmall number of the clergy appeared; Upon this ſignal contempt, 1707.

1707. tempt, the Archbiſhop pronounced him contumacious, and referred the further cenſuring him to the day, he ſet for their next meeting: The Prolocutor's party preſſed him to ſtand it out, and to make no ſubmiſſion; but he had ſounder advice given him, by ſome who underſtood the law better; ſo he made a full ſubmiſſion, with which the Archbiſhop was ſatisfied: Yet a party continued, with great impudence to aſſert, that their ſchedule was true, and that the Queen was miſinformed, though the Lord Chancellor, made now a Peer of England, and the Lord Chief Juſtice Holt, had, upon peruſal of the records, affirmed to the Queen, that their aſſertion was falſe, and that there were many precedents, for ſuch prorogations.

Affairs in Italy. And now I muſt look abroad into foreign affairs. The French were loſing place after place in Lombardy: Cremona, Mantua, and the citadel of Milan were the only places, that were left in their hands: It was not poſſible to maintain theſe long, without a greater force, nor was it eaſy to convey that to them. On the other hand, the reducing thoſe fortreſſes was like to be a work of time, which would fatigue the troops, and would bring a great charge with it; ſo a capitulation was propoſed, for delivering up thoſe places, and for allowing the French troops a free march to Dauphiny. As ſoon as this was ſent to Vienna, it was agreed to, without communicating it to the allies, which gave juſt cauſe of offence: It was ſaid in excuſe, that every General had a power to agree to a capitulation; ſo the Emperor, in this caſe, was not bound to ſtay, for the conſent of the allies. This was true, if the capitulation had been for one ſingle place, but this was of the nature of a treaty, being of a greater extent: By this, the French ſaved ten or 12000 men, who muſt all have been, in a little time, made priſoners of war: They were veteran troops, and were ſent into Spain, of which we quickly felt the ill effects.

The deſign was formed, for the following campaign

paign after this manner: The Duke of Savoy undertook to march an army into France, and to act there, as ſhould be concerted by the Allies: Some propoſed the marching through Dauphiny, to the river of the Rhone, and ſo up to Lyons: But an attempt upon Toulon was thought the moſt important thing, that could be deſigned; ſo that was ſettled on. Mareſchal Teſſé was ſent to ſecure the paſſes, and to cover France on that ſide. This winter the Prince of Baden died, little eſteemed, and little lamented; the Marquis of Bareith had the command of the army, on the Upper Rhine, from whom leſs was expected; he was ſo ill ſupported, that he could do nothing. The court of Vienna was ſo ſet on the reduction of Hungary, that they thought of nothing elſe: The Hungarians were very numerous, but they wanted both officers and diſcipline: Ragotzi had poſſeſſed himſelf of almoſt all Tranſilvania, and the Hungarians were ſo alienated from the Emperor, that they were conſulting about chuſing a new King. 1707.

The eyes of all Europe were upon the King of Sweden, who having poſſeſſed himſelf of Saxony, made King Auguſtus ſoon feel, that now, that his hereditary dominions were in his enemy's hands, he could no longer maintain the war in Poland: So a treaty was ſet on foot, with ſuch ſecrecy, that it was concluded, before it was apprehended to be in agitation. King Auguſtus was only waiting for a fit opportunity, to diſengage himſelf from his Polanders, and from the Muſcovites; an incident happened that had almoſt imbroiled all again: The Polanders and Muſcovites attacked a body of Swedes, at a great diſadvantage, being much ſuperior to them in number: So the Swedes were almoſt cut to pieces. King Auguſtus had no ſhare in this, and did all that he durſt venture on, to avoid it: He paid dear for it, hard conditions were put on him, to which the neceſſity of his affairs forced him to ſubmit. He made all the haſte, he ſafely could, to

And in Poland.

1707. to get out of Poland: He resigned back their Crown to them, and was contented with the empty name of King, though that seemed rather to be a reproach, than any accession of honour to his electoral dignity; he thought otherwise, and stipulated that it should be continued to him: He was at mercy, for he had neither forces nor treasure. It was thought the King of Sweden treated him with too much rigour, when he had so entirely mastered him: The other was as little pitied, as he deserved to be, for by many wrong practices, he had drawn all his misfortunes on himself. The King of Sweden, being in the heart of Germany, in so formidable a posture, gave great apprehensions to the Allies. The French made strong applications to him, but the courts of Prussia and Hanover were in such a concert with that King, that they gave the rest of the Allies great assurances, that he would do nothing, to disturb the peace of the empire, nor to weaken the alliance: The court of France pressed him to offer his mediation for a general peace; all the answer he gave was, that if the Allies made the like application to him, he would interpose, and do all good offices in a treaty. So he refused to enter into any separate measures with France, yet the court of Vienna was under a great apprehension, of his seeking matter for a quarrel with them. The Czar at this time over-run Poland, so that King Stanislaus was forced to fly into Saxony, to the King of Sweden, for protection: Both he and his Queen staid there all the winter, and a great part of this summer. The Czar pressed the Polanders to proceed to the election of another King, but could not carry them to that; so it was generally believed, that they were resolved to come to a treaty with King Stanislaus, and to settle the quiet of that kingdom, exhausted by a long and destructive war. The Czar tried, if it were possible, to come to a peace with the King of Sweden, and made great offers in order to it; but that King was implacable,

ble, and seemed resolved to pull him down, as he had done King Augustus. That King's designs were impenetrable, he advised with few, and kept himself on great reserves with all foreign Ministers, whom he would not suffer to come near him, except when they had a particular message to deliver. Our Court was advised, by the Elector of Hanover, to send the Duke of Marlborough to him: It was thought this would please him much, if it had no other effect; so he went thither, but could gain no ground on him. He affected a neglect of his person, both in cloaths, lodging, and diet; all was simple, even to meanness, nay, he did not so much as allow a decent cleanliness: He appeared to have a real sense of religion, and a zeal for it, but it was not much enlightned: He seemed to have no notion of publick-liberty, but thought Princes ought to keep their promises religiously, and to observe their treaties punctually: He rendered himself very acceptable to his army, by coming so near their way of living, and by his readiness to expose his own person, and to reward services done him: He had little tenderness in his nature, and was a fierce enemy, too rough, and too savage: He looked on Foreign Ministers, as spies by their character, and treated them accordingly; and he used his own Ministers, rather as instruments to execute his orders, than as counsellors. 1707. The character of the King of Sweden

The court of France finding they could not prevail on him, made a publick application to the Pope, for his mediating a peace: They offered the dominions in Italy to King Charles, to the States a barrier in the Netherlands, and a compensation to the Duke of Savoy, for the waste made in his country; provided, that on those conditions, King Philip should keep Spain, and the West-Indies. It was thought, the court of Vienna wished this project might be entertained, but the other Allies were so disgusted at it, that they made no steps toward it: The court of Vienna did what they could, to Propositions for a peace.

1707. to confound the designs of this campaign; for they ordered a detachment of 12000 men to march from the army in Lombardy to the kingdom of Naples. The court of England, the States, and the Duke of Savoy, studied to divert this, with the warmest instances possible, but in vain: Though it was represented to that court, that if the Duke of Savoy could enter into Provence, with a great army, that would cut off all supplies, and communication with France: So that success, in this great design, would make Naples and Sicily fall into their hands of course; but the Imperial Court was inflexible: They pretended, they had given their party in Naples such assurances of an invasion, that if they failed in it, they exposed them all to be destroyed, and thereby they might provoke the whole country, to become their most inveterate enemies. Thus they took up a resolution, without consulting their Allies, and then pretended that it was fixed, and could not be altered.

The battle of Almanza.

The campaign was opened very fatally in Spain: King Charles pretended, there was an army coming into Catalonia from Roussillon; and that it was necessary for him, to march into that country: The dividing a force, when the whole together was not equal to the enemy's, has often proved fatal: He ought to have made his army as strong as possibly he could, and to have marched with it to Madrid; for the rest of Spain would have fallen into his hands, upon the success of that expedition. But he persisted in his first resolution, and marched away with a part of the army, leaving about 16000 men under the Earl of Gallway's command. They had eaten up all their stores in Valencia, and could subsist no longer there; so they were forced to break into Castile: The Duke of Berwick came against them with an army, not much superior to theirs: But the court of France had sent the Duke of Orleans into Spain, with some of the best troops, that they had brought from Italy; and these joined

the Duke of Berwick, a day before the two armies engaged. Some deſerters came over, and brought the Earl of Gallway the news of the conjunction; but they were not believed, and were looked on as ſpies, ſent to frighten them. A council of war had reſolved to venture on a battle, which the ſtate of their affairs ſeemed to make neceſſary: They could not ſubſiſt where they were, nor be ſubſiſted if they retired back into Valencia; ſo on the 14th of April, the two armies engaged in the plain of Almanza. The Engliſh and Dutch beat the enemy, and broke through twice; but the Portugueze gave way: upon that the enemy, who were almoſt double in number, both horſe and foot, flanked them, and a total rout followed, in which about 10,000 were killed or taken priſoners. The Earl of Gallway was twice wounded; once ſo near the eye, that for ſome time it put him out of a capacity of giving orders: But at laſt he, with ſome other officers, made the beſt retreat they could. Our fleet came happily on that coaſt, on the day that the battle was fought; ſo he was ſupplied from thence, and he put garriſons into Denia and Alicant, and retired to the Ebro, with about 3000 horſe and almoſt as many foot. The Duke of Orleans purſued the victory; Valencia ſubmitted, and ſo did Saragoza; ſo that the principality of Catalonia was all that remained in King Charles's obedience. The King of Portugal died this winter, but that made no great change in affairs there: The young King agreed to every thing that was propoſed to him by the Allies; yet the Portugueze were under a great conſternation, their beſt troops being either cut off, or at that time in Catalonia. 1707.

Marſhal Villars was ſent to command in Alſace: He underſtood that the lines of Stolhoven were ill kept, and weakly manned; ſo he paſſed the Rhine, and without any loſs and very little oppoſition he broke through, and ſeized on the artillery, and on ſuch magazines as were lain in there. Upon this

1707. this ſhameful diſgrace, the Germans retired to Hailbron: The circle of Suabia was now open, and put under contribution; and Villars deſigned to penetrate as far as to Bavaria. The blame of this miſcarriage was laid chiefly on the imperial court, who neither ſent their quota thither, nor took care to ſettle a proper general for the defence of the empire. In Flanders the French army, commanded by the Duke of Vendome, came and took poſt at Gemblours, in a ſafe camp; the Duke of Marlborough lay at Meldert in a more open one: Both armies were about 100,000 ſtrong; but the French were rather ſuperior to that number.

In the month of June, the deſign upon Toulon began to appear: The Queen and the States ſent a ſtrong Fleet thither, commanded by Sir Cloudeſly Shovel; who, from mean beginnings, had riſen up to the ſupreme command; and had given many proofs of great courage, conduct and zeal, in the whole courſe of his life. Prince Eugene had the command of the imperial army, that was to ſecond the Duke of Savoy in this undertaking, upon the ſucceſs of which the final concluſion of the war depended. The army was not ſo ſtrong, as it was intended it ſhould have been: The detachment of 12,000 Men was ordered to march to Naples; and no applications could prevail at the Court of Vienna, to obtain a delay in that expedition: There were alſo eight or ten thouſand recruits, that were promiſed to be ſent to reinforce Prince Eugene, which were ſtopt in Germany, for the emperor was under ſuch apprehenſions of a rupture with Sweden, that he pretended it was abſolutely neceſſary, for his own ſafety, to keep a good force at home. Prince Eugene had alſo orders, not to expoſe his troops too much; by this means they were the leſs ſerviceable: notwithſtanding theſe diſappointments, the Duke of Savoy, after he had for ſome weeks covered his true deſign, by a feint upon Dauphiny, by which he drew moſt of the French

French troops to that ſide; as ſoon as he heard that the confederate fleet was come upon the coaſt, he made a very quick march through ways, that were thought impracticable, on to the river Var, where the French had caſt up ſuch works, that it was reckoned theſe muſt have ſtopt his paſſing the river: and they would have done it effectually, if ſome ſhips had not been ſent in from the fleet, into the mouth of the river, to attack theſe where there was no defence; becauſe no attack from that ſide was apprehended. By this means they were forced to abandon their works, and ſo the paſſage over the river was free: Upon this, that Duke entred Provence, and made all the haſte he could towards Toulon. The artillery and ammunition were on board the fleet, and were to be landed near the place, ſo the march of the army was as little encumbred as was poſſible; yet it was impoſſible to advance with much haſte in an enemy's country, where the proviſions were either deſtroyed or carried into fortified places, which though they might have eaſily been taken, yet no time was to be loſt in executing the great deſign; ſo this retarded the march for ſome days: Yet in concluſion they came before the place, and were quickly maſters of ſome of the eminencies, that commanded it. At their firſt coming, they might have poſſeſſed themſelves of another called St. Anne's hill, if Prince Eugene had executed the Duke of Savoy's orders: He did it not, which raiſed a high diſcontent; but he excuſed himſelf, by ſhewing the orders he had received, not to expoſe the emperor's troops. Some days were loſt by the roughneſs of the ſea, which hindred the ſhips from landing the artillery and ammunition. In the mean while, the troops of France were ordered to march from all parts to Toulon: The garriſon within was very ſtrong; the forces that were on their march to Spain, to proſecute the victory of Almanza, were countermanded; and ſo great a part of Villars's army was called 1707.

1707. away, that he could not make any further progress in Germany. So that a great force was, from all hands, marching to raise this siege; and it was declared, in the Court of France, that the Duke of Burgundy would go and lead on the army. The Duke of Savoy lost no time, but continued cannonading the place, while the fleet came up to bombard it: They attack'd the two forts, that commanded the entrance into the mole with such fury, that they made themselves masters of them; but one of them was afterwards blown up. Those within the town were not idle: They sunk some ships, in the entrance into the mole, and fired furiously at the fleet, but did them little harm: They beat the Duke of Savoy out of one of his most important posts, which was long defended by a gallant Prince of Saxe-Gotha; who not being supported in time, was cut to pieces. This post was afterwards regained, and the fleet continued for some days to bombard the place. But in the end, the Duke of Savoy, whose strength had never been above 30,000 men, seeing so great a force marching towards him, who might intercept his passage, and so destroy his whole army; and there being no hope of his carrying the place, found it necessary to march home in time: Which he did with so much order and precaution, that he got back into his own country, without any loss; and soon after his return, he sat down before Suza, and took it in a few weeks. Our fleet did all the execution they could on the town: Their bombs set some places on fire, which they believed were magazines; for they continued burning for many hours; in conclusion, they sailed off: They left behind them a fleet of six and twenty ships in the Mediterranean, and the great ships sailed homewards. Thus this great design, on which the eyes of all Europe were set, failed in the execution, chiefly by the emperor's means: England and the States performed all that was expected of them, nor

It failed in the execution.

nor was the Duke of Savoy wanting on his part; 1707.
though many ſuſpected him, as backward, and at
leaſt cold in the undertaking. It was not yet per-
fectly underſtood what damage the French ſuſtain-
ed: Many of their ſhips were rendered unſervice-
able, and continue to be ſo ſtill: Nor did they ſet
out any fleet all the following winter; though the
affairs of King Charles in Spain were then ſo low,
that if they could have cut off the communication
by ſea, between Italy and Spain, they muſt ſoon
have been maſters of all, that was left in his hands:
So that from their fitting out no fleet at Toulon,
it was concluded, that they could not do it. When
the deſign upon Toulon was broke, more troops
were ſent into Spain: The Earl of Gallway did,
with incredible diligence and activity, endeavour
to repair the loſs at Almanza, as much as was
poſſible: The ſupplies and ſtores that he had from
our fleet, put him in a capacity to make a ſtand;
he formed a new army, and put the ſtrong places
in the beſt poſture he could; Lerida was the moſt
expoſed, and ſo was the beſt looked to; Tortoſa,
Tarragona, and Gironne, were alſo well fortified,
and good garriſons were put in them. The attempt
on Toulon, as it put a ſtop to all the motions of
the French, ſo it gave him time to put the princi-
pality of Catalonia in a good ſtate of defence. The
Duke of Orleans, being reinforced with troops
from France, ſet down before Lerida, in the end The ſiege
of September, with an army of 30,000 men: The of Lerida.
place was commanded by a Prince of Heſſe, who
held out above forty days: After ſome time he was
forced to abandon the town, and to retire into the
caſtle; the army ſuffered much in this long ſiege.
When the beſieged ſaw how long they could hold
out, they gave the Earl of Gallway notice, upon
which he intended to have raiſed the ſiege; and if
the King of Spain would have conſented to his
drawing, out of the other garriſons, ſuch a force as
might have been ſpared, he undertook to raiſe it,

1707. which was belived might have been eaſily done: And if he had ſucceeded, it would have given a new turn to all the affairs of Spain. But Count Noyelles, who was well practiſed in the arts of flattery, and knew how much King Charles was alienated from the Earl of Gallway, for the honeſt freedom he had uſed with him, in laying before him ſome errors in his conduct, ſet himſelf to oppoſe this, apprehending that ſucceſs in it, would have raiſed the Earl of Gallway's reputation again, which had ſuffered a great diminution by the action of Almanza: He ſaid, this would expoſe the little army they had left them, to too great a hazard; for if the deſign miſcarried, it might occaſion a revolt of the whole principality. Thus the humours of Princes are often more regarded than their intereſt; the deſign of relieving Lerida was laid aſide. The French army was diminiſhed a fourth part, and the long ſiege had ſo fatigued them, that it was viſible, the raiſing it would have been no difficult performance, but the thoughts of that being given over, Lerida capitulated in the beginning of November: The Spaniards made ſome feeble attempts, on the ſide of Portugal, with ſucceſs, for little reſiſtance was made; the Portugueze excuſing themſelves by their feebleneſs, ſince their beſt troops were in Catalonia.

Relief ſent to Spain.

King Charles, finding his affairs in ſo ill a condition, wrote to the Emperor, and to the other Allies, to ſend him ſupplies, with all poſſible haſte: Stanhope was ſent over, to preſs the Queen and the States to diſpatch theſe the ſooner. At the end of the campaign in Italy, 7000 of the Imperial troops were prepared to be ſent over to Barcelona: And theſe were carried in the winter, by the confederate fleet, without any diſturbance given them, by the French. Recruits and ſupplies of all ſorts were ſent over from England, and from the States to Portugal. But while the Houſe of Auſtria was ſtruggling with great difficulties, two pieces of pomp and magnificence conſumed a great part of their

their treaſure: An Embaſſy was ſent from Liſbon, 1707.
to demand the Emperor's ſiſter for that King, which was done with an unuſual and extravagant expence: A wife was to be ſought for King Charles, among the Proteſtant courts, for there was not a ſuitable match in the Popiſh courts: He had ſeen the Princeſs of Anſpach, and was much taken with her; ſo that great applications were made, to perſuade her to change her religion, but ſhe could not be prevailed on, to buy a Crown at ſo dear a rate: And ſoon after, ſhe was married to the Prince Electoral of Brunſwick, which gave a glorious character of her to this nation; and her pious firmneſs is like to be rewarded, even in this life, with a much better Crown, than that which ſhe rejected. The Princeſs of Wolfenbuttle was not ſo firm; ſo ſhe was brought to Vienna, and ſome time after was married by proxy to King Charles, and was ſent to Italy, in her way to Spain. The ſolemnity, with which theſe matters were managed, in all this diſtreſs of their affairs, conſumed a vaſt deal of treaſure; for ſuch was the pride of thoſe courts on ſuch occaſions, that, rather than fail in a point of ſplendor, they would let their moſt important affairs go to wreck. That Princeſs was landed at Barcelona: And the Queen of Portugal the ſame year came to Holland, to be carried to Liſbon, by a ſquadron of the Engliſh fleet.

But while matters were in a doubtful ſtate in Spain, the expedition to Naples had all the ſucceſs, that was expected: The detachment from Lombardy marched through the eccleſiaſtical ſtate, and ſtruck no ſmall terror into the court of Rome, as they paſſed near it: It was apprehended, ſome reſiſtance would have been made in Naples, by thoſe who governed there under King Philip: But the in-bred hatred the Neapolitans bore the French, together with the ſeverities of their government, had put that whole kingdom into ſuch a diſpoſition to revolt, that the ſmall party, which adhered to King The conqueſt of Naples.

1707. Philip, found it not adviſeable to offer any reſiſtance, ſo they had only time enough to convey their treaſure, and all their richeſt goods to Cayeta, and to retire thither: They reckoned, they would either be relieved from France by ſea, or obtain a good capitulation: or if that failed, they had ſome ſhips and galleys, in which they might hope to eſcape. The Imperialiſts took poſſeſſion of Naples, where they were received with great rejoicings; their ill conduct quickly moderated that joy, and very much diſpoſed the Neapolitans to a ſecond revolt: But upon applications, made to the courts of Vienna and Barcelona, the exceſſes of the Imperialiſts, who carried their ravenous diſpoſition with them whereſoever they went, were ſomewhat corrected, ſo that they became more tolerable. As ſoon as a government could be ſettled at Naples, they undertook the ſiege of Cayeta, which went on at firſt very ſlowly: So that thoſe within ſeemed to apprehend nothing ſo much, as the want of proviſions, upon which, they ſent the few ſhips they had to Sicily, to bring them ſupplies, for all they might want; when theſe were ſent away, the Imperialiſts, knowing what a rich booty was lodged in the place, preſſed it very hard, and, in concluſion, took it by ſtorm; and ſo were maſters of all the wealth, that was in it: The garriſon retired into the caſtle, but they were ſoon after forced to ſurrender, and were all made priſoners of war. It was propoſed to follow this ſucceſs, with an attempt upon Sicily: But it was not eaſy to ſupply Naples with bread; nor was our fleet at liberty to aſſiſt them; for they were ordered to lie on the coaſt of Spain, and to wait there for orders; when theſe arrived, they required them to carry the Marquis das Minas and the Earl of Gallway, with the forces of Portugal, to Liſbon; which was happily performed: And the Earl of Gallway found the character and powers of an Ambaſſador, lying for him there. The thoughts of attempting Sicily,

were

were therefore laid aside for this time; though the Sicilians were known to be in a very good disposition to entertain it. A small force was sent, from Naples, to seize on those places, which lay on the coast of Tuscany, and belonged to the Crown of Spain: Some of them were soon taken, but Porto Longone and Port Hercole made a better resistance: This was the state of affairs in Italy and Spain all this year, and till the opening of the campaign the next year. 1707.

Affairs on the Rhine.

Villars continued in Germany, laying Suabia under heavy contributions; and very probably he would have penetrated into Bavaria, if the detachments, he was ordered to send away, had not so weakned his army, that he durst not venture further, nor undertake any considerable siege. While the empire was thus exposed, all mens eyes turned towards the Elector of Brunswick, as the only person, that could recover their affairs out of those extremities, into which they were brought: The Emperor pressed him to accept of the supreme command; this was seconded by all the Allies, but most earnestly by the Queen and the States: The Elector used all the precaution, that the imbarking in such a design required, and he had such assurances of assistance, from the Princes and Circles, as he thought might be depended upon; so he undertook the command: His first care was to restore military discipline, which had been very little considered or submitted to, for some years past; and he established this, with such impartial severity, that the face of affairs there was soon changed: But the army was too weak, and the season was too far spent, to enter on great designs. One considerable action happened, which very much raised the reputation of his conduct: Villars had sent a detachment of 3000 horse and dragoons, either to extend his contribution, or to seize on some important post; against these, the Elector sent out another body, that fell upon the French, and gave

1707. them a total defeat; in which 2000 of them were cut off: Soon after that, Villars retired back to Straſbourg, and the campaign in thoſe parts ended.

The King of Pruſſia judged Prince of Neufchaſtel.

I will take in here a tranſaction, that lay not far from the ſcene of action. There was, all this ſummer, a diſpute at Neufchaſtel, upon the death of the old Dutcheſs of Nemours, in whom the Houſe of Longueville ended: She enjoyed this principality, which, ſince it lay as a frontier to Switzerland, was on this occaſion much conſidered. There were many pretenders of the French nation, the chief was the Prince of Conti; all theſe came to Neufchaſtel, and made their application to the States of that country, and laid their ſeveral titles before them: The King of France ſeemed to favour the Prince of Conti moſt: But yet he left it free to the States, to judge of their pretenſions, provided they gave judgment, in favour of one of his ſubjects; adding ſevere threatnings, in caſe they ſhould judge in behalf of any other Pretender. The King of Pruſſia, as heir by his mother to the Houſe of Chaalons, claimed it as his right, which the late King had, by a particular agreement made over to him; ſo he ſent a miniſter thither, to put in his claim: And the Queen, and the States, ordered their miniſters in Switzerland, to do their beſt offices, both for advancing his pretenſions, and to engage the Cantons to maintain them; the King of Sweden wrote alſo to the Cantons to the ſame effect. The Allies looked on this, as a matter of great conſequence; ſince it might end in a rupture between the Proteſtant Cantons and France; for the Popiſh Cantons were now wholly theirs. After much pleading, and a long diſpute, the States of the principality gave judgment, in favour of the King of Pruſſia; the French Pretenders proteſted againſt this, and left Neufchaſtel in a high diſcontent: The French Ambaſſador threatned that little ſtate with an invaſion, and all commerce with them was forbid: The Canton of Bern eſpouſed their concern, with a ſpi-

a ſpirit and zeal, that was not expected from them: They declared, they were in a comburgherſhip with them; and upon that, they ſent a body of 3000 men, to defend them. The French continued to threaten, and Villars had orders to march a great part of his army towards them; but when the court of France ſaw, that the Cantons of Bern and Zurick were not frightened with thoſe marches, they let the whole matter fall, very little to their honour: And ſo the intercourſe, between the French dominions and that ſtate, was again opened, and the peace of the Cantons was ſecured. The King of Pruſſia engaged his honour, that he would govern that ſtate, with a particular zeal, for advancing both religion and learning in it; and upon theſe aſſurances, he perſuaded the Biſhops of England, and myſelf in particular, to uſe our beſt endeavours to promote his pretenſions; upon which we wrote, in the moſt effectual manner we could, to Monſ. Oſtervald, who was the moſt eminent Eccleſiaſtick of that ſtate, and one of the beſt and moſt judicious Divines of the age: He was bringing that church to a near agreement with our forms of worſhip: The King of Pruſſia was well ſet, in all matters relating to religion; and had made a great ſtep, in order to reconcile the Lutherans and the Calviniſts in his dominions, by requiring them, not to preach to the people on thoſe points, in which they differ; and by obliging them, to communicate together, notwithſtanding the diverſity of their opinions: Which is indeed the only wiſe and honeſt way, to make up that breach. 1707.

The affinity of the matter, leads me next to give an account of the differences, between the King of Sweden, and the court of Vienna: That King, after he had been a very heavy gueſt in Saxony, came to underſtand, that the Proteſtants in Sileſia had their churches, and the free exerciſe of their religion, reſtipulated to them by the peace of Munſter, and that the Crown of Sweden was the guarantee, for obſerving

The King of Sweden gets the Proteſtant churches in Sileſia to be reſtored to them.

1707. obſerving this: Theſe churches were taken from them; ſo the King of Sweden was in juſtice bound, to ſee to the obſerving of that article; he very readily embraced this opportunity, which had been long neglected, or forgotten by his father. When this was firſt repreſented to the court of Vienna, it was treated there with much ſcorn: And Count Zabor, one of the Miniſters of that court, ſpoke of the King of Sweden in a ſtyle, that he thought furniſhed him with a juſt pretenſion to demand, that he ſhould be ſent to him, to be puniſhed as he thought fit: this was ſoon yielded; the Count was ſent to the King, and made ſuch an humble ſubmiſſion to him, as was accepted: But the demand for reſtoring the churches was a matter of hard digeſtion, to a bigotted and haughty court. The King of Sweden had a great army at hand, and he threatned an immediate rupture, if this demand was not agreed to, without delay: In this he was ſo poſitive, that the imperial court at laſt yielded, they being then in no condition, to reſiſt a warlike Prince, and an army, hardened by an exact diſcipline, and the fatigues of a long war: ſo that every thing that was demanded, purſuant to that article of the treaty of Munſter, was agreed to be performed, within a prefixed time: And upon that, the King of Sweden marched his army, under the moſt regular diſcipline, through Sileſia, as had been agreed, into Poland. The Jeſuits made great oppoſition to the performance of what had been ſtipulated; but the imperial court would not provoke a Prince, who they thought was ſeeking a colour, to break with them: So, by the day prefixed, all the churches were reſtored to the Proteſtants in Sileſia. Upon this, he was highly magnified, and great endeavours were again uſed, to engage him in the alliance; but he was ſo ſet againſt the Czar, whom he deſigned to dethrone, that nothing could then divert him from it: Yet he ſo far entred into the intereſts of religion, that, as he wrote to the King of France, deſiring him not to

oppoſe

oppoſe the King of Pruſſia, in his pretenſions on Neufchaſtel; he alſo wrote to the Cantons, deſiring them to promote and ſupport them. The Cantons ſeeing thoſe characters of zeal in him, ſent a French gentleman of quality to him, the Marquis de Rochegude, to let him know what regard they had to his recommendations, and to deſire him to interpoſe his good offices, with the King of France, for ſetting at liberty about three hundred perſons, who were condemned to the galleys, and treated moſt cruelly in them, upon no other pretence, but becauſe they would not change their religion, and had endeavoured to make their eſcape out of France: He received this meſſage with a particular civility, and immediately complied with it; ordering his Miniſter, at the court of France, to make it his deſire to that King, that theſe confeſſors might be delivered to him: But the Miniſters of France ſaid, that was a point of the King's government at home, in which he could not ſuffer foreign Princes to meddle: He ſeemed ſenſible of this neglect, and it was hoped, that when his affairs could admit of it, he would expreſs a due reſentment of it. 1707.

To end all the affairs of Germany, for this year, at once; I muſt mention a quarrel, raiſed in Hamborough, between ſome private perſons, one of whom was a Lutheran Miniſter; which created a great diviſion in that city. One ſide was protected by the Senate, which gave ſo great a diſguſt to the other ſide, that it was like to end in a revolt againſt the Magiſtrates, and a civil war within the town: And it being known, that the King of Denmark had, for many years, had an eye on that place, the neighbouring Princes apprehended, that he might take advantage from thoſe commotions, or that the weaker ſide might chuſe rather to fall under his power, than under the revenges of the adverſe party. The Kings of Sweden and Pruſſia, with the Houſe of Brunſwick, reſolved therefore to ſend troops thither, to quiet this diſtraction, and to chaſtize the more

A ſedition in Hamborough.

1707. more refractory; while the Emperor's Ministers, together with the Queen's, endeavoured to accommodate matters, without suffering them to run to extremities.

The campaign in Flanders.

It remains, that I give an account of the campaign in Flanders: The French kept close within their posts; though the Duke of Marlborough often drew out his troops, to see if that could provoke them; but they were resolved not to fight on equal terms; and it was not thought advisable to attempt the forcing their posts: they lay, for some months, looking on one another; but both armies had behind them such a safe and plentiful conveyance of provisions, that no want of any sort could oblige either side to dislodge. The Duke of Vendome had orders, to send detachments, to reinforce Mareschal Villars, in lieu of those detachments, that he had been ordered to send to Provence. The Duke of Savoy seemed to wonder, that the confederates lay so quiet, and gave the Duke of Vendome no disturbance; and that they could not, at least, oblige him to keep all his army together: At last the Duke of Marlborough decamped, and moved towards French Flanders: The French decamped, about the same time, but lodged themselves again in such a safe camp, that he could not force them into any action: Nor was his army so numerous, as to spare a body to undertake a siege, by that means to draw them to a battle; so that the campaign was carried on there, in a very inoffensive manner, on both sides: And thus matters stood in the Continent, every where this season.

Affairs at sea.

France set out no fleet this year, and yet, we never had greater losses on that element: The Prince's Council was very unhappy, in the whole conduct of the cruizers and convoys: The merchants made heavy complaints, and not without reason: convoys were sometimes denied them; and when they were granted, they were often delayed beyond the time limited, for the merchants to get their ships in readiness;

readineſs: and the ſailing orders were ſometimes ſent them ſo unhappily (but as many ſaid, ſo treacherouſly) that a French ſquadron was then laying in their way, to intercept them. This was liable to very ſevere reflections: For many of the convoys, as well as the merchant-ſhips, were taken: And to compleat the misfortunes of our affairs at Sea, this year, when Sir Cloudeſly Shovel was ſailing home, with the great ſhips, by an unaccountable careleſſneſs and ſecurity, he, and two other capital ſhips, ran foul upon thoſe rocks, beyond the Land's End, known by the name of the Biſhop and his Clerks; and they were in a minute broke to pieces; ſo that not a man of them eſcaped. It was dark, but there was no wind, otherwiſe the whole fleet had periſhed with them: All the reſt tack'd in time, and ſo they were ſaved. Thus one of the greateſt ſeamen of the age was loſt, by an error in his own profeſſion, and a great miſreckoning; for he had lain by, all the day before, and ſet ſail at night, believing, that next morning, he would have time enough, to guard againſt running on thoſe rocks; but he was ſwallowed up within three hours after. 1707.

This was the ſtate of our affairs abroad, both by ſea and land. Things went at home in their ordinary channels: But the conduct with relation to Scotland, was more unaccountable: For whereas, it might have been reaſonably expected, that the management, of the newly united part of this iſland, ſhould have been particularly taken care of, ſo as to give no juſt diſtaſte to the Scots, nor offer handles to thoſe, who were ſtill endeavouring to inflame that nation, and to encreaſe their averſion to the union: Things were, on the contrary, ſo ordered, as if the deſign had been to contrive methods, to exaſperate the ſpirits of the people there. Though the management of the Scotch revenue was to fall into the Lord Treaſurer's hands, on the firſt of May, no care was taken to have all the commiſſions ready at the day, with new officers to ſerve in them: Proceedings with relation to Scotland.

1707. So that the whole trade of Scotland was ſtopped, for almoſt two months, for want of orders, to put it into the new courſe, in which it was to be carried on. Three months paſſed, before the equivalent was ſent to Scotland: And when wines and other merchandize were imported into England from thence, ſeizures were every where made, and this was managed with a particular affectation of roughneſs. All theſe things heightened the prejudices, with which that nation had been poſſeſſed, againſt the union: It was alſo known, that many meſſages paſſed, between Scotland and France; and that there were many meetings and much conſultation, among the diſcontented party there; a great body appeared openly for the pretended Prince of Wales; and celebrated his birth-day very publickly, both at Edinburgh, and in other places of the kingdom; and it was openly talked, that there was now an opportunity, that was not to be loſt, of invading the kingdom, though with a ſmall force; and that a general concurrence, from the body of that nation, might be depended on: Theſe things were done, in ſo barefaced a manner, that no check being given to them, nor enquiry made after them, by thoſe who were in the government, it gave occaſion to many melancholy ſpeculations. The management from England looked, like a thing concerted, to heighten that diſtemper; and the whole conduct of the fleet afforded great cauſe of jealouſy.

A new party at court.

But to open this, as clearly as it has yet appeared to me, I muſt give an account of a new ſcene at court. It was obſerved, that Mr. Harley, who had been for ſome years ſecretary of State, had gained great credit with the Queen, and began to ſet up for himſelf, and to act no more under the direction of the Lord Treaſurer: There was one of the bedchamber women, who, being nearly related to the Dutcheſs of Marlborough had been taken care of by her, together with her whole family

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(for they were fallen low) in a moſt particular manner. She brought her not only into that poſt, but ſhe had treated her with ſuch a confidence that it had introduced her into a high degree of favour with the Queen: Which, for ſome years, was conſidered as an effect of the Dutcheſs of Marlborough's credit with her; ſhe was alſo nearly related to Mr. Harley; and they two entered into a cloſe correſpondence. She learned the arts of a court, and obſerved the Queen's temper, with ſo much application, that ſhe got far into her heart: And ſhe imployed all her credit, to eſtabliſh Harley in the ſupreme confidence with the Queen, and to alienate her affections from the Dutcheſs of Marlborough, who ſtudied no other method of preſerving her Favour, but by purſuing the true intereſt of the Queen, and of the kingdom. It was ſaid, that the Prince was brought into the concert; and that he was made to apprehend, that he had too ſmall a ſhare in the government, and that he was ſhut out from it, by the great power, that the Duke of Marlborough and the Lord Treaſurer had drawn into their hands: It was ſaid, all depended on them, that the Queen was only a cypher in the government, that ſhe was in the Dutcheſs of Marlborough's hands, as her affairs were in the Duke of Marlborough's: It was likewiſe talked among thoſe, who made their court to the new favourites, that there was not now a Jacobite in the nation, that all were for the Queen, and that, without doubt, ſhe would reign out peaceably her whole life; but ſhe needed not concern herſelf for a German family: Theſe diſcourſes began to break out, and gave ſad thoughts to thoſe to whom they were brought. This went on too long, little regarded; the Dutcheſs of Marlborough ſeemed ſecure of her intereſt in the Queen, and ſhewed no jealouſy of a favour, to which herſelf gave the firſt riſe. This was the ſtate of the court at the opening of the ſeſſion of Parliament. 1707.

1707. Promotions in the church.

There were, at that time, three Biſhopricks vacant: Trelawny had been removed, the ſummer before, from Exeter to Wincheſter; which gave great diſguſt to many, he being conſiderable for nothing, but his birth, and his intereſt in Cornwall. The Lord Treaſurer had engaged himſelf to him, and he was ſenſible that he was much reflected upon for it. But he, to ſoften the cenſure that this brought on him, had promiſed, that, for the future, preferments ſhould be beſtowed on men well principled, with relation to the preſent conſtitution, and on men of merit. The Queen, without regarding this, did ſecretly engage herſelf to Dr. Blackhall for Exeter; and Cheſter (being at the ſame time void, by the death of Dr. Stratford) to Sir William Dawes for that ſee: Theſe divines were in themſelves men of value and worth, but their notions were all on the other ſide; they had ſubmitted to the government, but they, at leaſt Blackhall, ſeemed to condemn the revolution, and all that had been done purſuant to it. Dawes alſo was looked on, as an aſpiring man, who would ſet himſelf at the head of the tory party: ſo this nomination gave a great diſguſt. To qualify this a little, Patrick, the pious and learned Biſhop of Ely, dying at this time, the Queen advanced More from Norwich thither; and Dr. Trimnell, a worthy perſon in all reſpects, was named for Norwich: Yet this did not quiet the uneaſineſs, many were under, by reaſon of the other nominations, which ſeemed to flow from the Queen herſelf, and ſo diſcovered her inclinations. To prevent the ill effects, that this might have, in the approaching ſeſſion, ſome of the eminent members of the Houſe of Commons were called to a meeting with the Dukes of Somerſet and Devonſhire: Theſe Lords aſſured them, in the Queen's name, that ſhe was very ſenſible of the ſervices, the whigs did her; and tho' ſhe had engaged herſelf ſo far, with relation to thoſe two Biſhopricks, that ſhe could not recall the promiſes ſhe had made, yet

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for the future, ſhe was reſolved to give them full content. But while this was ſaid to ſome whigs, Harley and his friends, St. John and Harcourt, took great pains on the leaders of the tories (in particular on Hanmer, Bromley and Freeman) to engage them in the Queen's intereſts: aſſuring them, that her heart was with them, that ſhe was weary of the tyranny of the whigs, and long'd to be deliver'd from it. But they were not wrought on, by that management; they either miſtruſted it, as done only to enſnare them, or they had other views, which they did not think fit to own. This double-dealing came to be known, and gave occaſion to much jealouſy and diſtruſt. A little before the ſeſſion was opened, an eminent misfortune happen'd at ſea: A convoy, of five ſhips of the line of battel, was ſent to Portugal, to guard a great fleet of merchant-ſhips; and they were ordered to ſail, as if it had been by concert, at a time when a ſquadron from Dunkirk had joined another from Breſt, and lay in the way, waiting for them. Some advertiſements were brought to the admiralty, of this conjunction, but they were not believed. When the French ſet upon them, the convoy did their part very gallantly, though the enemy were three to one; one of the ſhips was blown up, three of them were taken, ſo that only one eſcaped, much ſhattered: But they had fought ſo long, that moſt of the merchant-men had time to get away, and ſailed on, not being purſued, and ſo got ſafe to Liſbon. This, coming almoſt at the ſame time with the misfortune, that happened to Shovel, the ſeſſion was begun with a melancholy face; and a diſpute, upon their opening, had almoſt put them into great diſorder. 1707.

It was generally thought that though this was a Parliament, that had now ſate two years, yet it was a new Parliament, by reaſon it had been let fall, and was revived by a proclamation, as was formerly told: And the conſequence of this was,

1707. that thoſe who had got places, were to go to a new election. Others maintained, that it could not be a new Parliament, ſince it was not ſummoned by a new writ, but by virtue of a clauſe in an act of Parliament. The Duke of Marlborough, upon his coming over, prevailed to have it yielded to be a new Parliament; but Harley was for maintaining it to be an old Parliament. The Houſe of Commons choſe the ſame Speaker over again, and all the uſual forms, in the firſt beginning of a new Parliament, were obſerved.

Complaints of the admiralty.

Theſe were no ſooner over, than the complaints of the admiralty were offered to both houſes: Great loſſes were made, and all was imputed to the weakneſs, or to a worſe diſpoſition, in ſome, who had great credit with the Prince, and were believed to govern that whole matter: For as they were entirely poſſeſſed of the Prince's confidence, ſo when the Prince's council was divided in their opinions, the deciſion was left to the Prince, who underſtood very little of thoſe matters, and was always determined by others. By this means they were really Lord High Admiral, without being liable to the law for errors and miſcarriages. This council was not a legal court, warranted by any law, though they aſſumed that to themſelves; being counſellors, they were bound to anſwer only for their fidelity. The complaints were feebly managed, at the bar of the Houſe of Commons; for it was ſoon underſtood, that not only the Prince, but the Queen likewiſe concerned herſelf much in this matter: And both looked on it as a deſign, levelled at their Authority. Both whigs and tories ſeemed to be at firſt equally zealous in the matter; but by reaſon of the oppoſition of the Court, all thoſe, who intended to recommend themſelves to favour, abated of their zeal: Some were vehement in their endeavours to baffle the complaints: They had great advantages, from the merchants managing their complaints but poorly; ſome were frighted,

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and others were practiſed on, and were carried even to magnify the conduct of the fleet, and to make excuſes for all the misfortunes that had happened. That which had the chief operation, on the whole tory party, was, that it was ſet round among them, that the deſign of all theſe complaints, was, to put the Earl of Orford again at the head of the fleet: Upon which they all changed their note, and they, in concurrence with thoſe, who were in offices, or pretended to them, managed the matter ſo, that it was let fall, very little to their honour. Unkind remarks were made on ſome, who had changed their conduct upon their being preferred at court; but the matter was managed with more zeal and courage in the Houſe of Lords, both whigs and tories concurring in it. 1707.

A committee was appointed, to examine the complaints; they called the merchants, who had ſigned the petition, before them; and treated them not with the ſcorn, that was very indecently offered them by ſome of the Houſe of Commons, but with great patience and gentleneſs: They obliged them, to prove all their complaints, by witneſſes upon oath. In the proſecution of the enquiry, it appeared, that many ſhips of war were not fitted out, to be put to ſea, but lay in port neglected, and in great decay; that convoys had been often flatly denied the merchants, and that when they were promiſed, they were ſo long delayed, that the merchants loſt their markets, were put to great charge, and, when they had periſhable goods, ſuffered great damage in them: The cruizers were not order'd to proper ſtations in the Channel; and when convoys were appointed, and were ready to put to ſea, they had not their ſailing orders ſent them, till the enemies ſhips were laid in their way, prepared to fall on them, which had often happened. Many advertiſements, by which thoſe misfortunes might have been prevented, had been offered to the admiralty, but had not only been Examined by the Houſe of Lords.

1707. neglected by them, but thoſe, who offered them, had been ill treated for doing it. The committee made report of all this to the Houſe of Lords; upon which, the Lord Treaſurer moved, that a copy of the report might be ſent to the Lord Admiral, which was done, and in a few days an anſwer was ſent to the houſe, excuſing, or juſtifying the conduct, in all the branches of it. The chief foundation of the anſwer was, that the great fleets, which were kept in the Mediterranean, obliged us to ſend away ſo many of our ſhips and ſeamen thither, that there was not a ſufficient number left, to guard all our trade, while the enemy turned all their forces at ſea into ſquadrons for deſtroying it; and that all the ſhips, that could be ſpared, from the publick ſervice abroad, were imployed to ſecure the trade; the promiſe of convoys had been often delayed, by reaſon of croſs winds, and other accidents, that had hindred the return of our men of war longer, than was expected; they being then abroad, convoying other merchant-ſhips: And it was ſaid, that there was not a ſufficient number of ſhips, for cruizers and convoys both. The paper ended, with ſome ſevere reflections on the laſt reign, in which great ſums were given, for the building of ſhips, and yet the fleet was at that time much diminiſhed, and four thouſand merchant ſhips had been taken during that war: This was believed to have been ſuggeſted by Mr. Harley, on deſign to mortify King William's Miniſtry. Upon reading of this anſwer, a new and a fuller examination of the particulars was again reſumed, by the ſame committee; and all the allegations in it were exactly conſidered: It appeared, that the half of thoſe ſeamen, that the Parliament had provided for, were not employed in the Mediterranean, that many ſhips lay idle in port, and were not made uſe of; and that in the laſt war, in which it appeared there were more ſeamen, though not more ſhips, employed in the Mediterranean, than were now kept there, yet

the trade was ſo carefully looked after, by cruizers and convoys, that few complaints were then made: And as to the reflections made on the laſt reign, it was found that not half the ſum, that was named, was given for the building of ſhips; and that inſtead of the fleet's being diminiſhed, during that war, as had been affirmed, it was increaſed by above forty ſhips; nor could any proof be given, that four thouſand ſhips were taken during that war: All the ſeamen, who were then taken and exchanged, did not exceed 15000, and in the preſent war 18000 were already exchanged; and we had 2000 ſtill remaining in our enemies hands: So much had the Prince been impoſed on, in that paper, that was ſent to the Lords in his name. 1707.

When the examination was ended, and reported to the Houſe, it was reſolved to lay the whole matter before the Queen, in an addreſs; and then the tories diſcovered the deſign, that they drove at; for they moved in the committee, that prepared the addreſs, that the blame of all the miſcarriages might be laid on the Miniſtry, and on the Cabinet Council. It had been often ſaid in the Houſe of Lords, that it was not intended, to make any complaint of the Prince himſelf; and it not being admitted, that his council was of a legal conſtitution, the complaining of them would be an acknowledging their authority; therefore the blame could be laid regularly no where, but on the Miniſtry: This was much preſſed by the Duke of Buckingham, the Earl of Rocheſter, and the Lord Haverſham. But to this it was anſwered, by the Earl of Orford, the Lord Somers, and the Lord Halifax, that the Houſe ought to lay before the Queen only that, which was made out before them upon oath: And therefore ſince, in the whole examination, the Miniſtry, and the Cabinet Council were not once named, they could offer the Queen nothing to their prejudice. Some of the things complained of, fell on the navy-board, which was a body, And laid before the Queen in an addreſs.

1707. acting by a legal authority: The Lords ought to lay before the Queen, ſuch miſcarriages as were proved to them; and leave it to Her, to find out, on whom the blame ought to be caſt: So far was the Miniſtry, from appearing to be in fault, that they found ſeveral advertiſements were ſent, by the Secretaries of State, to the Admiralty, that, as appeared afterwards, were but too well grounded, yet theſe were neglected by them; and that which raiſed the clamour the higher, was, that during the winter there were no cruizers laying in the Channel; ſo that many ſhips which had run through all dangers at ſea, were taken in ſight of land, for the privateers came up boldly to our ports. All this was digeſted into a full and clear addreſs, laid, by the Houſe, before the Queen: There was a general anſwer made to it, giving aſſurances, that the trade ſhould be carefully looked to; but nothing elſe followed upon it; and the Queen ſeemed to be highly offended at the whole proceeding. At this time, an enquiry likewiſe into the affairs of Spain was begun in both Houſes.

Enquiry into the affairs of Spain.

The Earl of Peterborough had received ſuch poſitive orders recalling him, that though he delayed as long as he could, yet at laſt he came home in Auguſt: But the Queen, before ſhe would admit him into her preſence, required of him an account of ſome particulars in his conduct, both in military matters, in his negotiations, and in the diſpoſal of the money remitted to him. He made ſuch general anſwers, as gave little ſatisfaction: But he ſeemed to reſerve the matter to a parliamentary examination, which was entred upon by both Houſes. All the tories magnified his conduct, and ſtudied to detract from the Earl of Gallway; but it was thought, that the Miniſtry were under ſome reſtraints, with relation to the Earl of Peterborough, though he did not ſpare them; which gave occaſion to many to ſay, they were afraid of him, and durſt not provoke him. The whigs, on the other hand, made ſevere remarks on his conduct: The com-

complaints, that King Charles made of him, were read, upon which he brought such a number of papers, and so many witnesses to the bar, to justify his conduct, that after ten or twelve days, spent wholly in reading papers, and in hearing witnesses, both Houses grew equally weary of the matter; so, without coming to any conclusion, or to any vote, they let all, that related to him, fall: But that gave them a handle, to consider the present state of affairs in Spain. It was found, that we had not above half the troops there, that the Parliament had made provision for; and that not above half the officers, that belonged to those bodies, served there; this gave the House of Commons a high distaste, and it was hoped by the tories, that they should have carried the House to severe votes and warm addresses on that head; which was much laboured by them, in order to load the ministry. In this, Harley and his party were very cold and passive, and it was generally believed, that the matter was privately set on by them: But the Court sent an explanation of the whole matter to the House, by which it appeared, that though, by death and desertion, the number of the troops there was much diminished, yet the whole number provided, or at least very near it, was sent out of England. The service in Spain was much decried; and there was good reason for it; things there could not be furnished, but at excessive rates, and the soldiers were generally ill used in their quarters. They were treated very unkindly, not by King Charles, but by those about him, and by the bigotted Spaniards. 1707.

During these debates, severe things were said in general, of the conduct of affairs, in both Houses: It was observed, that a vast army was well supplied in Flanders, but that the interest of the nation required, that Spain should be more considered: It was moved in both Houses, that the Emperor 1708.

1708. should be earneſtly applied to, to ſend Prince Eugene into Spain; complaints were alſo made of the Duke of Marlborough, as continuing the war, though, at the end of the campaign of 1706, the French had offered to yield up Spain and the Weſt-Indies; but that was a falſe ſuggeſtion. All theſe heats in the Houſe, after they had got this vent, were allayed: The Queen aſſured them, all paſt errors ſhould be redreſſed for the future; and with repeated importunities, ſhe preſſed the Emperor to ſend Prince Eugene to Spain: That Court delayed to comply in this particular; but ſent Count Staremberg thither, who had indeed acquired a very high reputation. The Queen entered alſo into engagements with the Emperor, that ſhe would tranſport, pay, and furniſh all the troops, that he could ſpare for his brother's ſervice. Theſe ſteps quieted the diſcontent, the Houſe had expreſſed, upon the ill conduct of affairs in Spain; but upon Stanhope's coming over, he gave a better proſpect of affairs there; and he found a readineſs, to agree to all the propoſitions, that he was ſent over to make. All this while an act was preparing, both for a better ſecurity to our trade by cruizers and convoys, and for the encouraging privateers, particularly in the Weſt-Indies, and in the South-Sea. They were to have all they could take, entirely to themſelves; the ſame encouragement was alſo given to the captains of the Queen's ſhips, with this difference, that the captains of privateers were to divide their capture, according to agreements made among themſelves; but they left the diſtribution of prizes, taken by men of war, to the Queen: Who, by proclamation, ordered them to be divided into eight ſhares; of which the captain was to have three, unleſs he had a ſuperior officer over him, in which caſe, the Commodore was to have one of the three; the other five parts were to be diſtributed equally, among the officers and mariners of the ſhips, put in five different claſſes: All the clauſes, that

that the merchants desired, to encourage privateers, were readily granted, and it was hoped, that a great stock would be raised to carry on this private war. This past without opposition, all concurring in it. 1708.

But as to other matters, the tories discovered much ill-humour against the Ministry; which broke out on all occasions: And the jealousies, with which the whigs were possessed, made them as cold as the others were hot. This gave the Ministers great uneasiness: They found Mr. Harley was endeavouring to supplant them at court, and to heighten the jealousies of the whigs; for he set it about among the tories, as well as among the whigs, that both the Duke of Marlborough and the Lord Treasurer were as much inclined, to come into measures with the tories, as the Queen herself was: This broke out, and was like to have had very ill effects; it had almost lost them the whigs, though it did not bring over the tories.

Discoveries of a correspondence with France.

At this time two discoveries were made, very unlucky for Mr. Harley: Tallard wrote oft to Chamillard, but he sent his letters open, to the secretary's office, to be perused and sealed up, and so to be conveyed by the way of Holland: These were opened, upon some suspicion in Holland; and it appeared, that one, in the Secretary's office, put letters in them, in which, as he offered his service to the courts of France and St. Germains, so he gave an account of all transactions here: In one of these, he sent a copy of the letter, that the Queen was to write, in her own hand, to the Emperor: And he marked what parts of the letter were drawn by the Secretary, and what additions were made to it, by the Lord Treasurer: This was the letter, by which the Queen pressed the sending Prince Eugene into Spain, and this, if not intercepted, would have been at Versailles, many days before it could reach Vienna. He, who sent this, wrote, that by this they might see what service he could do them, if well encouraged; all this was sent over to the Duke of Marlborough,

1708. borough, and upon ſearch, it was found to be writ by one Gregg, a clerk, whom Harley had not only entertained, but had taken into a particular confidence, without enquiry into the former parts of his life; for he was a vicious and a neceſſitous perſon, who had been Secretary to the Queen's Envoy in Denmark, but was diſmiſſed by him, for thoſe his ill qualities. Harley had made uſe of him to get him intelligence, and he came to truſt him with the peruſal, and the ſealing up of the letters, which the French priſoners, here in England, ſent over to France: And by that means, he got into the method of ſending intelligence thither. He, when ſeized on, either upon remorſe, or the hopes of pardon, confeſſed all, and ſigned his confeſſion; upon that he was tried; he pleaded guilty, and was condemned as a traitor, for correſponding with the Queen's enemies. At the ſame time Valiere and Bara, whom Harley had imployed, as his ſpies, to go oft over to Calais, under the pretence of bringing him intelligence, were informed againſt, as ſpies imployed by France, to get intelligence from England; who carried over many letters to Calais and Bulloign: and, as was believed, gave ſuch information of our trade and convoys, that by their means, we had made our great loſſes at ſea. They were often complained of upon ſuſpicion, but they were always protected by Harley; yet the preſumptions againſt them were ſo violent, that they were at laſt ſeized on and brought up priſoners. Theſe accidents might make Harley more earneſt, to bring about a change in the conduct of affairs, in which he relied on the credit of the new favourite. The Duke of Marlborough, and the Lord Treaſurer having diſcovered many of his practices, laid them before the Queen: She would believe nothing, that was ſuggeſted to his prejudice: She denied ſhe had given any authority, for carrying meſſages to the tories; but would not believe, that he or his friends had done it, nor would ſhe enter into any examina-

tion of his ill conduct, and was uneasy when she heard it spoke of. So these Lords wrote to the Queen, that they could serve her no longer, if he was continued in that post: And on the Sunday following, when they were summoned to a Cabinet Council, they both went to the Queen, and told her, they must quit her service, since they saw, she was resolved not to part with Harley. She seemed not much concerned, at the Lord Godolphin's offering to lay down; and it was believed, to be a part of Harley's new scheme to remove him; but she was much touched with the Duke of Marlborough's offering to quit, and studied, with some soft expressions, to divert him from that resolution: but he was firm, and she did not yield to them: So they both went away, to the wonder of the whole court. Immediately after, the Queen went to the Cabinet Council, and Harley opened some matters, relating to foreign affairs: The whole board was very uneasy; the Duke of Somerset said, he did not see how they could deliberate on such matters, since the General was not with them; he repeated this with some vehemence, while all the rest looked so cold and sullen, that the Cabinet Council was soon at an end; and the Queen saw, that the rest of her Ministers, and the chief officers, were resolved to withdraw from her service, if she did not recall the two, that had left it. It was said, that she would have put all to the hazard, if Harley himself had not apprehended his danger, and resolved to lay down: The Queen sent the next day for the Duke of Marlborough, and after some expostulations, she told him, Harley should immediately leave his post, which he did within two days: But the Queen seemed to carry a deep resentment of his and the Lord Godolphin's behaviour on this occasion; and tho' they went on with her business, they found they had not her confidence. The Dutchess of Marlborough did, for some weeks, abstain from going to court, but afterwards that breach was made up in appear-

1708.

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1708. ance, though it was little more than an appearance. Both Houſes of Parliament expreſſed a great concern, at this rupture in the court; and apprehended the ill effects it might have: The Commons let the bill of ſupply lie on the table, tho' it was ordered for that day: And the Lords ordered a committee, to examine Gregg and the other priſoners. As Harley laid down, both Harcourt, then Attorney-General, Manſel, the Comptroller of the Houſhold, and St. John the Secretary of War, went and laid down with him. The Queen took much time to conſider, how ſhe ſhould fill ſome of theſe places, but Mr. Boyle, uncle to the Earl of Burlington, was preſently made Secretary of State.

An examination into that correſpondence.

The Lords, who were appointed to examine Gregg, could not find out much by him; he had but newly begun his deſigns of betraying ſecrets; and he had no aſſociates with him in it: He told them, that all the papers of ſtate lay ſo careleſly about the office, that every one belonging to it, even the door-keepers, might have read them all. Harley's cuſtom was to come to the office late on poſt-nights, and after he had given his orders, and wrote his letters, he uſually went away, and left all to be copied out, when he was gone: By that means he came to ſee every thing, in particular the Queen's letter to the Emperor. He ſaid, he knew the deſign on Toulon in May laſt, but he did not diſcover it; for he had not entred on his ill practices till October: This was all he could ſay. By the examination of Valiere and Bara, and of many others, who lived about Dover and were imployed by them, a diſcovery was made of a conſtant intercourſe, they were in with Calais, under Harley's protection: They often went over with boats full of wooll, and brought back brandy; though both the import and export were ſeverely prohibited: They, and thoſe who belonged to the boats, carried over by them, were well treated on the French ſide, at the Governor's houſe, or at the Commiſſary's; they were kept

kept there, till their letters could be ſent to Paris, and till returns could be brought back, and were all the while upon free coſt: The order, that was conſtantly given them, was, that if an Engliſh or Dutch ſhip came up to them, they ſhould caſt their letters into the ſea; but that they ſhould not do it, when French ſhips came up to them: ſo they were looked on, by all on that coaſt, as the ſpies of France. They uſed to get what information they could, both of merchant-ſhips, and of the ſhips of war, that lay in the Downs; and upon that they uſually went over, and it happened that ſoon after ſome of thoſe ſhips were taken: Theſe men, as they were papiſts, ſo they behaved themſelves very inſolently, and boaſted much of their power and credit. Complaints had been often made of them, but they were always protected; nor did it appear, that they ever brought any information of importance to Harley but once, when, according to what they ſwore, they told him, that Fourbin was gone from Dunkirk, to lie in wait for the Ruſſia fleet; which proved to be true: he both went to watch for them, and he took a great part of the fleet. Yet, though this was the ſingle piece of intelligence that they ever brought, Harley took ſo little notice of it, that he gave no advertiſement to the admiralty, concerning it. This particular excepted, they only brought over common news, and the Paris Gazettes. Theſe examinations laſted for ſome weeks; when they were ended, a full report was made of them, to the Houſe of Lords; and they ordered the whole report, with all the examinations, to be laid before the Queen in an addreſs, in which they repreſented to her the neceſſity of making Gregg a publick example; upon which he was executed: He continued to clear all other perſons of any acceſſion to his crimes, of which he ſeemed very ſenſible, and died much better than he had lived. 1708.

A very few days after the breach, that had happened at court, we were alarmed from Holland, with

1708. with the news of a design, of which the French made then no secret; that they were sending the pretended Prince of Wales to Scotland, with a fleet and an army, to possess himself of that kingdom. But before I go further, I will give an account, of all that related to the affairs of that part of the island.

Proceedings with relation to Scotland.

The members, sent from Scotland, to both Houses of Parliament were treated with very particular marks of respect and esteem: and they were persons of such distinction, that they very well deserved it. The first thing proposed, in the House of Commons, with relation to them, was to take off the stop, that was put on their trade: It was agreed unanimously, to pray the Queen by an address, that she would give order for it; some debate arising only, whether it was a matter of right or of favour: Harley pressed the last, to justify those proceedings, in which he himself had so great a share, as was formerly set forth, and on which others made severe reflections: But since all agreed in the conclusion, the dispute concerning the premisses was soon let fall. After this, a more important matter was proposed, concerning the government of Scotland, whether it should continue in a distinct Privy Council, or not: All the court was for it; those, who governed Scotland, desired to keep up their authority there, with the advantage they made by it: and they gave the Ministers of England great assurances, that by their influence, elections might be so managed as to serve all the ends of the court; but they said, that without due care, these might be carried so, as to run all the contrary way. This was the secret motive, yet this could not be owned in a publick assembly; so that, which was pretended, was, that many great families in Scotland, with the greatest part of the Highlanders, were so ill affected, that without a watchful eye, ever intent upon them, they could not be kept quiet: It lay at too great a distance from London, to be governed by orders sent from thence.

thence. To this it was anſwered, that by the circuits of the juſticiary courts, and by juſtices of peace, that country might be well governed, notwithſtanding its diſtance, as Wales and Cornwall were. It was carried, upon a diviſion, by a great majority, that there ſhould be only one Privy Council for the whole iſland. When it was ſent up to the Lords, it met with a great oppoſition there: The Court ſtood alone; all the tories, and the much greater part of the whigs were for the bill. The Court, ſeeing the party for the bill ſo ſtrong, was willing to compound the matter; and whereas, by the bill, the council of Scotland was not to ſit after the firſt of May, the Court moved to have it continued, to the firſt of October. It was viſible that this was propoſed only, in order to the managing elections for the next Parliament; ſo the Lords adhered to the day prefixed in the bill: But a new debate aroſe about the power, given by the bill to the juſtices of peace, which ſeemed to be an encroachment on the juriſdiction of the Lords Regalities, and of the hereditary Sheriffs and Stewards, who had the right of trying criminals, in the firſt inſtance, for fourteen days time: Yet it was ordinary, in the caſes of great crimes and riots, for the Privy Council to take immediate cognizance of them, without any regard to the fourteen days; ſo by this act, the juſtices of peace were only impowered to do that, which the Privy Council uſually did: And except the occaſion was ſo great, as to demand a quick diſpatch, it was not to be doubted, but that the juſtices of peace would have great regard to all private rights; yet ſince this had the appearance, of breaking in upon private rights, this was much inſiſted on, by thoſe who hoped, by laying aſide theſe powers given to the juſtices of the peace, to have gained the main point of keeping up a Privy Council in Scotland: For all the Scotch miniſters ſaid, the country would be in great danger, if there were not a ſupreme government 1708.

1708. vernment ſtill kept up in it: But it ſeemed an abſurd thing, that there ſhould be a different adminiſtration, where there was but one legiſlature. While Scotland had an entire legiſlature within itſelf, the nation aſſembled in Parliament could procure the correction of errors in the adminiſtration: Whereas now, that it was not a tenth part of the legiſlative body, if it was ſtill to be kept under a different adminiſtration, that nation could not have ſtrength enough, to procure a redreſs of its grievances in Parliament; ſo they might come to be ſubdued and governed as a province: And the arbitrary way, in which the council of Scotland had proceeded, ever ſince King James the Firſt's time, but more particularly ſince the reſtoration, was freſh in memory, and had been no ſmall motive, to induce the beſt men of that nation to promote the Union; that they might be delivered from the tyranny of the council: And their hopes would be diſappointed, if they were ſtill kept under that yoke. This point was in concluſion yielded, and the bill paſſed, though to the great diſcontent of the court; there was a new court of Exchequer created in Scotland, according to the frame of that court in England: Special acts were made, for the elections and the returns of the repreſentatives, in both Houſes of Parliament; and ſuch was the diſpoſition of the Engliſh to oblige them, and the behaviour of the Scots was ſo good and diſcreet, that every thing that was propoſed for the good of their country, was agreed to; both whigs and tories vied with one another, who ſhould ſhew moſt care and concern for the welfare of that part of Great Britain.

A deſcent deſigned upon Scotland.

On the twentieth of February, which was but a few days after the act, diſſolving the council in Scotland, had paſſed, we underſtood there was a fleet prepared in Dunkirk, with about twelve battalions, and a train of all things neceſſary for a deſcent in Scotland: And a few days after, we heard that

that the pretended Prince of Wales was come from Paris, with all the Britiſh and Iriſh, that were about him, in order to his imbarkation. The ſurprize was great, for it was not looked for, nor had we a proſpect of being able to ſet out in time a fleet, able to deal with theirs, which conſiſted of twenty-ſix ſhips, moſt of them of above forty guns: But that providence (which has, on all occaſions, directed matters ſo happily for our preſervation) did appear very ſignally in this critical conjuncture: Our greateſt want was of ſeamen, to mann the fleet; for the ſhips were ready to be put to ſea: This was ſupplied, by ſeveral fleets of merchant ſhips, that came home at that time, with their convoys: The Flag Officers were very acceptable to the ſeamen, and they beſtirred themſelves ſo effectually, that, with the help of an embargo, there was a fleet of above forty ſhips, got ready in a fortnight's time, to the ſurprize of all at home, as well as abroad: Theſe ſtood over to Dunkirk, juſt as they were imbarking there. Upon the ſight of ſo great a fleet, Fourbin, who commanded the French fleet, ſent to Paris for new orders: He himſelf was againſt venturing out, when they ſaw a ſuperior fleet, ready to engage, or to purſue them. The King of France ſent poſitive orders to proſecute the deſign: So Fourbin (ſeeing that our fleet, after it had ſhewed itſelf to them, finding the tides and ſea run high, as being near the equinox, had ſailed back into the Downs) took that occaſion to go out of Dunkirk on the eighth of March: But contrary winds kept him on that coaſt, till the eleventh, and then he ſet ſail with a fair wind. Our Admiral, Sir George Bing, came over again to watch his motions; and as ſoon as he underſtood, that he had ſailed, which was not till twenty hours after, he followed him. The French deſigned to have landed in the Frith, but they outſailed their point a few leagues; and by the time, that they had got back to the north ſide of the Frith, Bing came to the ſouth ſide of it,

1708.

A fleet ſailed from Dunkirk.

1708. and gave the signal for coming to an anchor; this was heard by Fourbin: He had sent a frigate into the Frith, to give signals, which it seems had been agreed on, but no answers were made. The design was to land near Edinburgh, where they believed the castle was in so bad a condition, and so ill provided, that it must have surrendered upon summons: And they reckoned, that upon the reputation of that, the whole body of the kingdom would have come in to them. But when Fourbin understood, on the thirteenth of March, that Bing was so near him, he tacked, and would not stay to venture an engagement. Bing pursued him, with all the sail that he could make, but the French stood out to sea; there was some firing on the ships, that sailed the heaviest, and the Salisbury, a ship taken from us, and then their Vice-Admiral, was engaged by two English ships, and taken without any resistance. There were about 500 land-men on board her, with some officers and persons of quality, the chief of these were the Lord Griffin, and the Earl of Middleton's two sons. Bing (having lost sight of the French, considering that the Frith was the station of the greatest importance, as well as safety, and was the place where they designed to land) put in there, till he could hear what course the French steered: The tides ran high, and there was a strong gale of wind. Upon the alarm of the intended descent, orders were sent to Scotland, to draw all their Forces about Edinburgh: The troops that remained in England were ordered to march to Scotland: And the troops in Ireland were ordered to march northward, to be ready when called for: There were also twelve battalions sent from Ostend under a good convoy, and they lay at the mouth of the Tine till further orders. Thus all preparations were made to dissipate that small force: But it appeared, that the French relied chiefly on the assistance, that they expected would have come in to them, upon their landing: Of this they seemed so

so well assured, that the King of France sent instructions, to his Ministers in all the courts, that admitted of them, to be published every where, that the pretended Prince being invited by his subjects, chiefly those of Scotland, to take possession of the throne of his ancestors, the King had sent him over at their desire, with a fleet and army to assist him: That he was resolved to pardon all those, who should come in to him, and he would trouble none upon the account of religion: Upon his being re-established, the King would give peace to the rest of Europe. When these Ministers received these directions, they had likewise advice sent them, which they published both at Rome, Venice, and in Switzerland, that the French had, before this expedition was undertaken, sent over some ships with arms and ammunition to Scotland: And that there was already an army on foot there, that had proclaimed this pretended Prince, King. It was somewhat extraordinary to see such eminent falshoods published all Europe over: They also affirmed, that hostages were sent from Scotland to Paris, to secure the observing the engagements they had entered into; though all this was fiction and contrivance. 1708. Reports spread by the French.

The States were struck with great apprehensions, so were all the Allies; for though they were so long accustomed to the cunning practices of the court of France, yet this was an original; and therefore it was generally concluded, that so small an army, and so weak a fleet would not have been sent, but upon great assurances of assistance, not only from Scotland, but from England: And upon this occasion, severe reflections were made, both on the conduct of the Admiralty, and on that tract of correspondence lately discovered, that was managed under Harley's protection: And on the great breach, that was so near the disjointing all our affairs, but a few days before. These things,

1708. when put together, filled men's minds with thoughts of no eaſy digeſtion.

The Parliament ſtands firmly by the Queen

The Parliament was ſitting, and the Queen, in a ſpeech to both Houſes, communicated to them the advertiſements ſhe had received: Both Houſes made addreſſes to her, giving her full aſſurance of their adhering ſtedfaſtly to her, and to the Proteſtant ſucceſſion: And mixed with theſe broad intimations, of their apprehenſions of treachery at home. They paſſed alſo two bills; the one, that the abjuration might be tendred to all perſons, and that ſuch as refuſed it, ſhould be in the condition of convict recuſants: By the other, they ſuſpended the Habeas Corpus act till October, with relation to perſons taken up by the government upon ſuſpicion: And the Houſe of Commons, by a vote, engaged to make good to the Queen, all the extraordinary charge, this expedition might put her to.

The French fleet got again into Dunkirk.

A fortnight went over, before we had any news of the French fleet: Three of their ſhips landed near the mouth of Spey, only to refreſh themſelves; for the ſhips being ſo filled with landmen, there was a great want of water: At laſt all their ſhips got ſafe into Dunkirk: The landmen either died at ſea, or were ſo ill, that all the hoſpitals in Dunkirk were filled with them. It was reckoned, that they loſt above 4000 men, in this unaccountable expedition: For they were above a month toſſed in a very tempeſtuous ſea. Many ſuſpected perſons were taken up in Scotland, and ſome few in England: But further diſcoveries of their correſpondents were not then made. If they had landed, it might have had an ill effect on our affairs, chiefly with relation to all paper credit: And if by this, the remittances to Piedmont, Catalonia, and Portugal had been ſtopped, in ſo critical a ſeaſon, that might have had fatal conſequences abroad: For if we had been put into ſuch a diſorder at home, that foreign Princes could no more reckon on our aſſiſtance,

ance, they might have been diſpoſed to hearken to the propoſitions, that the King of France would then have probably made to them. So that, the total defeating of this deſign, without its having the leaſt ill effect on our affairs, or our loſing one ſingle man in the little engagement, we had with the enemy, is always to be reckoned as one of thoſe happy providences, for which we have much to anſwer. 1708.

The Queen ſeemed much alarmed with this matter, and ſaw with what falſhoods ſhe had been abuſed, by thoſe who pretended to aſſure her, there was not now a Jacobite in the nation: One variation in her ſtyle was now obſerved: She had never, in any ſpeech, mentioned the revolution, or thoſe, who had been concerned in it: And many of thoſe, who made a conſiderable figure about her, ſtudied, though againſt all ſenſe and reaſon, to diſtinguiſh her title from the revolution: It was plainly founded on it, and on nothing elſe. In the ſpeeches ſhe now made, ſhe named the revolution twice: And ſaid ſhe would look on thoſe concerned in it, as the ſureſt to her intereſts: She alſo fixed a new deſignation on the pretended Prince of Wales, and called him the Pretender; and he was ſo called in a new ſet of addreſſes, which, upon this occaſion, were made to the Queen: And I intend to follow the precedent, as often as I may have occaſion hereafter to mention him. The ſeſſion of Parliament was cloſed in March, ſoon after defeating this deſign of a deſcent: It was diſſolved in April by proclamation, and the writs were iſſued out, for the elections of a new Parliament, which raiſed that ferment over the nation, that was uſual on ſuch occaſions. The juſt and viſible dangers, to which the attempt of the invaſion had expoſed the nation, produced very good effects: For the elections did, for the moſt part, fall on men well affected to the government, and zealouſly ſet againſt the Pretender.

1708. As soon as the state of affairs at home was well settled, the Duke of Marlborough went over to Holland, and there Prince Eugene met him: Being sent by the Emperor, to concert with him and the States, the operations of the campaign; from the Hague, they both went to Hanover, to settle all matters relating to the empire, and to engage the Elector to return, to command the army on the upper Rhine. Every thing was fixed: Prince Eugene went back to Vienna, and was obliged to return by the beginning of June; for the campaign was then to be opened every where.

The designs of the campaign are concerted.

The court of France was much mortified, by the disappointment, they had met with in their designs against us: But to put more life in their troops, they resolved to send the Duke of Burgundy with the Duke of Berry to be at the head of their army in Flanders: The Pretender went with them, without any other character, than that of the Chevalier de St. George. The Elector of Bavaria, with the Duke of Berwick, were sent to command in Alsace, and Marshal Villars was sent to head the forces in Dauphiny. The credit, with relation to money, was still very low in France: For after many methods taken for raising the credit of the mint-bills, they were still at a discount of forty per Cent. No fleets came this year from the West-Indies, so that they could not be supplied from thence.

The Princes of France sent to the army in Flanders.

The Duke of Orleans was sent to command in Spain; and according to the vanity of that nation, it was given out, that they were to have mighty armies, in many different places, and to put an end to the war there: Great rains fell all the winter, in all the parts of Spain; so that the campaign could not be so soon opened, as it was at first intended. The bills, that the Duke of Orleans brought with him to Spain, were protested, at which he was so much displeased, that he desired to be recalled: This was remedied in some degree, though far short of what was promised to him. The

The Duke of Orleans sent to Spain.

troops

troops of Portugal, that lay at Barcelona, ever since the battle of Almanza, were brought about by a ſquadron of our ſhips, to the defence of their own country: Sir John Leak came alſo over thither from England with recruits and other ſupplies, that the Queen was to furniſh that crown with: And when all was landed, he ſailed into the Mediterranean, to bring over troops from Italy, for the ſtrengthening of King Charles, whoſe affairs were in great diſorder. 1708.

After all the boaſting of the Spaniards, their army on the ſide of Portugal was ſo weak, that they could not attempt any thing; ſo this was a very harmleſs compaign on both ſides; the Portugueze not being much ſtronger. The Duke of Orleans ſate down before Tortoſa in June, and though Leak diſſipated a fleet of tartanes, ſent from France to ſupply his army, and took about fifty of them, which was a very ſeaſonable relief to thoſe in Barcelona; upon which it was thought the ſiege of Tortoſa would be raiſed, yet it was carried on till the laſt of June, and then the garriſon capitulated. Tortoſa beſieged and taken.

Leak ſailed to Italy, and brought from thence, both the new Queen of Spain, and 8000 men with him: But by reaſon of the ſlowneſs of the Court of Vienna, theſe came too late, to raiſe the ſiege of Tortoſa: The ſnow lay ſo long on the Alps, that the Duke of Savoy did not begin the campaign till July, then he came into Savoy, of which he poſſeſſed himſelf without any oppoſition: The whole country was under a conſternation as far as Lyons. Supplies ſent from Italy to Spain.

On the upper Rhine, the two Electors continued looking on one another, without venturing on any action; but the great ſcene was laid in Flanders: The French Princes came to Mons, and there they opened the campaign, and advanced to Soignies, with an army of an hundred thouſand men: The Duke of Marlborough lay between Enghien and Hall, with his army, which was about eighty thouſand.

1708. The French had their usual practices on foot in several towns in those parts: A conspiracy, to deliver Antwerp to them, was discovered and prevented: The truth was, the Dutch were severe masters and the Flandrians could not bear it: Though the French had laid heavier taxes on them, yet they used them better in all other respects: Their bigotry, being wrought on by their priests, disposed them to change masters, so these practices succeeded better in Ghendt and Bruges. The Duke of Marlborough resolved, not to weaken his army by many garrisons: So he put none at all in Bruges, and a very weak one in the citadel of Ghendt, reckoning that there was no danger, as long as he lay between those places and the French army. The two armies lay, about a month, looking on one another, shifting their camps a little, but keeping still in safe ground, so that there was no action all the while; but near the end of June some bodies drawn out of the garrisons about Ypres, came and possessed themselves of Bruges, without any opposition: And the Garrison in Ghendt, was too weak to make any resistance, so they capitulated and marched out: Upon this, the whole French army marched towards those places, hoping to have carried Oudenarde in their way.

Ghendt and Bruges taken by the French

The battle of Oudenarde. The Duke of Marlborough followed so quick, that they drew off from Oudenarde, as he advanced; In one day, which was the last of June, he made a march of five leagues, passed the Scheld without any opposition, came up to the French army, and engaged them in the afternoon: They had the advantage both of numbers and of ground; yet our men beat them from every post, and in an action, that lasted six hours, we had such an entire advantage, that nothing but the darkness of the night, and weariness of our men, saved the French army from being totally ruined. There were about 5000 killed, and about 8000 made prisoners (of whom 1000 were officers) and about 6000 more de-

ſerted; ſo that the French loſt at leaſt 20000 men, and retired in great haſte, and in greater confuſion to Ghendt. On the confederates ſide, there was about 1000 killed, and 2000 wounded: But our army was ſo wearied, with a long march, and a long action, that they were not in a condition to purſue with that haſte, that was to be deſired: Otherwiſe great advantages might have been made of this victory. The French poſted themſelves on the great canal, that runs from Ghendt to Bruges: Prince Eugene's army, of about 30000 men, was now very near the great army, and joined it in a few days after this action: But he himſelf was come up before them, and had a noble ſhare in the victory; which, from the neighbourhood of that place, came to be called the battle of Oudenarde. 1708.

The French had recovered themſelves out of their firſt conſternation, during that time, which was neceſſary to give our army ſome reſt and refreſhment: And they were ſo well poſted, that it was not thought fit to attack them. Great detachments were ſent, as far as to Arras, to put all the French countries under contribution; which ſtruck ſuch a terror every where, that it went as far as to Paris: Our army could not block up the enemy's on all ſides, the communication with Dunkirk by Newport was ſtill open; and the French army was ſupplied from thence: They made an invaſion into the Dutch Flanders: They had no great cannon, ſo they could take no place; but they deſtroyed the country with their uſual barbarity.

In concluſion, the Duke of Marlborough, in concert with Prince Eugene and the States, reſolved to beſiege Liſle, the capital town of the French Flanders: It was a great, a rich, and a well fortified place; with a very ſtrong citadel: It had been the firſt conqueſt the French King had made, and it was become, next to Paris, the chief town of his dominions: Marſhal Boufflers threw himſelf into it, with Liſle beſieged.

1708. with ſome of the beſt of the French Troops: The garriſon was at leaſt 12000 ſtrong, ſome called it 14000. Prince Eugene undertook the conduct of the ſiege, with about 30000 men, and the Duke of Marlborough, with the reſt of the army, lay on the Scheld at Pont-Eſperies, to keep the communication open with Bruſſels: Some time was loſt, before the great artillery could be brought up: It lay at Saſs van Ghendt, to have been ſent up the Lys, but now it was to be carried about by Antwerp to Bruſſels, and from thence by land-carriages to the camp, which was a long and a ſlow work: In that, ſome weeks were loſt, ſo that it was near the end of Auguſt, before the ſiege was begun. The engineers promiſed the States, to take the place within a fortnight, after the trenches were opened; but the ſequel ſhewed, that they reckoned wrong: There were ſome diſputes among them: Errors were committed by thoſe, who were in greateſt credit, who thought the way of ſapp the ſhorteſt, as well as the ſureſt method: Yet after ſome time loſt in purſuing this way, they returned to the ordinary method. Boufflers made a brave and a long defence: The Duke of Burgundy came with his whole army ſo near ours, that it ſeemed he deſigned to venture another battle, rather than loſe ſo important a place: And the Duke of Marlborough was, for ſome days, in a poſture to receive him: But when he ſaw, that his whole intention, in coming ſo near him, was only to oblige him to be ready for an action, without coming to any; and ſo to draw off a great part of thoſe bodies, that carried on the ſiege, leaving only as many as were neceſſary, to maintain the ground they had gained, he drew a line before his army, and thought only of carrying on the ſiege; for while he looked for an engagement, no progreſs was made in that.

The French drew lines all along the Scheld

After ſome days, the French drew off, and fell to making lines all along the Scheld, but chiefly

about Oudenarde; that they might cut off the communication between Bruſſels and our camp, and ſo ſeparate our army, from all intercourſe with Holland: The lines were about ſeventy miles long, and in ſome places near Oudenarde, they looked liker the ramparts of a fortified place, than ordinary lines; on theſe they laid cannon and poſted the greateſt part of their army upon them, ſo that they did effectually ſtop all communication by the Scheld. Upon which, the States ordered all that was neceſſary, both for the army and for the ſiege, to be ſent to Oſtend: And if the French had begun their deſigns, with the intercepting this way of conveyance, the ſiege muſt have been raiſed, for want of ammunition to carry it on. 1708.

About this time, 6000 men were embarked at Portſmouth, in order to be ſent over to Portugal: But they were ordered to lie for ſome time on the coaſt of France, all along from Bulloign to Dieppe, in order to force a diverſion, we hoping, that this would oblige the French to draw ſome of their troops out of Flanders, for the defence of their coaſt: This had no great effect, and the appearance that the French made, gave our men ſuch apprehenſions of their ſtrength, that though they once begun to land their men, yet they ſoon returned back to their ſhips: But as their behaviour was not a little cenſured, ſo the ſtate of the war in Flanders, made it neceſſary to have a greater force at Oſtend. They were, upon this, ordered to come and land there: Earl, who commanded them, came out and took a poſt at Leffingen, that lay on the canal, which went from Newport to Bruges, to ſecure the paſſage of a great convoy of 800 waggons, that were to be carried from Oſtend to the army: If that had been intercepted, the ſiege muſt have been raiſed: For the Duke of Marlborough had ſent ſome ammunition from his army, to carry on the ſiege, and he could ſpare no more: He began to deſpair of the undertaking, and ſo prepared his friends

A new ſupply ſent to Oſtend.

1708. friends to look for the raising the siege, being in great apprehensions concerning this convoy; upon which, the whole success of this enterprize depended: He sent Webb, with a Body of 6000 men to secure the convoy.

A defeat given the French when they were three to one.

The French, who understood well of what consequence this convoy was, sent a body of 20000 men, with forty pieces of cannon, to intercept it: Webb, seeing the inequality between his strength and the enemy's, put his men into the best disposition he could. There lay coppices, on both sides of the place, where he posted himself; he lined these well, and stood still for some hours, while the enemy cannonaded him, he having no cannon to return upon them: His men lay flat on the ground, till that was over. But when the French advanced, our men fired upon them, both in front and from the coppices, with that fury, and with such success, that they began to run; and though their officers did all that was possible to make them stand, they could not prevail: So, after they had lost about 6000 men, they marched back to Bruges: Webb durst not leave the advantageous ground he was in, to pursue them, being so much inferior in number. So unequal an action, and so shameful a flight, with so great loss, was looked on as the most extraordinary thing, that had happened during the whole war: And it encouraged the one side, as much as it dispirited the other. Many reproaches passed on this occasion, between the French and the Spaniards; the latter, who had suffered the most, blaming the former for abandoning them: This, which is the ordinary consequence of all great misfortunes, was not soon quieted.

Convoys from Ostend came safe to the camp.

The convoy arriving safe in the camp, put new life in our army: Some other convoys came afterwards, and were brought safe: For the Duke of Marlborough moved, with his whole army, to secure their motions, nor did the enemy think fit to give them any disturbance, for some time. By the means

means of these supplies, the siege was carried on so effectually, that by the end of October the town capitulated: Mareschal Boufflers retiring into the citadel, with 6000 men. The French saw of what importance, the communication by Ostend was to our army, which was chiefly maintained by the body, that was posted at Leffingen; so they attacked that, with a very great force: The place was weak of itself, but all about was put under water, so it might have made a longer resistance: It was too easily yielded up by those within it, who were made prisoners of war. Thus the communication with Ostend was cut off, and upon that the French flattered themselves, with the hopes of starving our army; having thus separated it, from all communication with Holland: insomuch that it was reported, the Duke of Vendome talked of having our whole forces delivered into his hands, as prisoners of war, for want of bread, and other necessaries. It is true, the Duke of Marlborough sent out great bodies both into the French Flanders, and into the Artois, who brought in great stores of provisions: But that could not last long. 1708.

Leffingen taken by the French.

The French army lay all along the Scheld, but had sent a great detachment to cover the Artois: All this while there was a great misunderstanding between the Duke of Burgundy and the Duke of Vendome: The latter took so much upon him, that the other officers complained of his neglecting them; so they made their court to the Duke of Burgundy, and laid the blame of all his miscarriages on Vendome. He kept close to the orders he had from Versailles, where the accounts he gave, and the advices he offered, were more considered, than those that were sent by the Duke of Burgundy: This was very uneasy to him, who was impatient of contradiction, and longed to be in action, though he did not shew the forwardness, in exposing his own person, that was expected: he seemed very devout, even to bigotry; but by the accounts we had from

Misunderstanding between the Dukes of Burgundy and Vendome.

France,

1708. France, it did appear, that his conduct during the campaign, gave no great hopes or prospect from him, when all things should come into his hands: Chamillard was often sent from court to soften him, and to reconcile him to the Duke of Vendome, but with no effect.

Affairs on the upper Rhine.

The Elector of Bavaria had been sent to command on the Upper Rhine: The true reason was believed, that he might not pretend to continue in the chief command in Flanders: He was put in hopes, of being furnished with an army so strong, as to be able to break through into Bavaria. The Elector of Hanover did again undertake the command of the army of the empire: Both armies were weak; but they were so equally weak, that they were not able to undertake any thing on either side: So after some months, in which there was no considerable action; the forces on both sides went into winter quarters. Then the court of France, believing that the Elector of Bavaria was so much beloved in Brussels, that he had a great party in the town, ready to declare for him, ordered an army of 14000 men, with a good train of artillery, to be brought together, and with that body he was sent to attack Brussels; in which, there was a garrison of 6000 men. He lay before the town five days, in two of these he attacked it with great fury: He was once master of the counterscarp, but he was soon beaten out of it; and though he repeated his attacks very often, he was repulsed in them all.

The Elector of Bavaria sent to attack Brussels.

The Duke of Marlborough passed the Scheld and the lines.

The Duke of Marlborough hearing of this, made a sudden motion towards the Scheld: But to deceive the enemy, it was given out, that he designed to march directly towards Ghendt, and this was believed by his whole army, and it was probably carried to the enemy; for they seemed to have no notice nor apprehension of his design on the Scheld: He advanced towards it in the night, and marched with the foot very quick, leaving the horse to come up with the artillery: The lines were so strong,

ſtrong, that it was expected, that in the breaking through them, there muſt have been a very hot action: Some of the General Officers told me, that they reckoned it would have coſt them at leaſt 10000 men; but to their great ſurprize, as ſoon as they paſſed the river, the French ran away, without offering to make the leaſt reſiſtance; and they had drawn off their cannon the day before. Our men were very weary with the night's march, ſo they could not purſue; for the horſe were not come up, nor did the garriſon of Oudenarde ſally out; yet they took a thouſand priſoners. Whether the notice of the feint, that the Duke of Marlborough gave out of his deſign on Ghendt, occaſioned the French drawing off their cannon, and their being ſo ſecure, that they ſeemed to have no apprehenſions of his true deſigns, was not yet certainly known: But the abandoning thoſe lines, on which they had been working for many weeks, was a ſurprize to all the world: Their Councils ſeemed to be weak, and the execution of them was worſe: So that they, who were ſo long the terror, were now become the ſcorn of the world. 1708.

The main body of their army retired to Valenciennes, great detachments were ſent to Ghendt and Bruges: As ſoon as the Elector of Bavaria had the news of this unlooked for reverſe of their affairs, he drew off from Bruſſels with ſuch precipitation, that he left his heavy cannon and baggage, with his wounded men, behind him: So this deſign, in which 3000 men were loſt, came ſoon to an end. Thoſe who thought of preſages, looked on our paſſing the lines on the ſame day, in which the Parliament of England was opened, as a happy one. Prince Eugene had marched, with the greateſt part of the force that lay before Liſle (leaving only what was neceſſary to keep the town, and to carry on the ſapp againſt the citadel) to have a ſhare in the action, that was expected in forcing the lines: But he came quickly back, when he ſaw there was no need of

The Elector of Bavaria drew off from Bruſſels.

1708. of him, and that the communication with Bruſſels was opened.

The citadel of Liſle capitulated.

The ſiege of the citadel was carried on in a ſlow but ſure method: And when the beſiegers had lodged themſelves in the ſecond counterſcarp, and had raiſed all their batteries, ſo that they were ready to attack the place, in a formidable manner; Mareſchal Boufflers thought fit to prevent that, by a capitulation. It was now near the end of November; ſo he had the better terms granted him: For it was reſolved, as late as it was in the year, to reduce Ghendt and Bruges, before this long campaign ſhould be concluded: He marched out with 5000 men, ſo that the ſiege had coſt thoſe within, as many lives, as it did the beſiegers, which were near 8000.

Reflections that paſſed on it.

This was a great conqueſt; the nobleſt, the richeſt, and the ſtrongeſt town in thoſe provinces, was thus reduced: And the moſt regular citadel in Europe, fortified and furniſhed at a vaſt expence, was taken without firing one cannon againſt it. The garriſon was obliged to reſtore to the inhabitants, all that had been carried into the citadel, and to make good all the damages, that had been done the town, by the demoliſhing of houſes, while they were preparing themſelves for the ſiege. All the ſeveral methods the French had uſed, to give a diverſion, had proved ineffectual: But that, in which the obſervers of providence rejoice moſt, was the ſignal character of a particular bleſſing on this ſiege: It was all the whole time a rainy ſeaſon, all Europe over, and in all the neighbouring places; yet during the ſiege of the town, it was dry and fair about it: And on thoſe days of capitulation, in which time was allowed for the gariſon to march into the citadel, it rained; but as ſoon as theſe were elapſed, ſo that they were at liberty to beſiege the citadel, fair weather returned, and continued till it was taken.

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From Liſle, the army marched to inveſt Ghendt, though it was late in the year; for it was not done before December: The French boaſted much of their ſtrength, and they had, by ſome new works, made a ſhow of deſigning an obſtinate reſiſtance. They ſtood it out, till the trenches were far advanced, and the batteries were finiſhed, ſo that the whole train of artillery was mounted: When all was ready to fire on the town, the governor, to ſave both that and his garriſon, thought fit to capitulate: He had an honourable capitulation, and a general amneſty was granted to the town, with a new confirmation of all their privileges. The Burghers did not deſerve ſo good uſage; but it was thought fit, to try how far gentle treatment could prevail on them, and overcome their perverſeneſs: And indeed it may be thought, that they had ſuffered ſo much by their treachery, that they were ſufficiently puniſhed for it: Ghendt was delivered to the Duke of Marlborough on the laſt of December N. S. ſo glorioufly was both the year and the campaign finiſhed at once: For the garriſon, that lay at Bruges, and in the forts about it, withdrew without ſtaying for a ſummons. Theſe being evacuated, the army was ſent into winter-quarters. 1708. Ghendt and Bruges retaken.

It had not been poſſible to have kept them in the field much longer; for within two or three days after, there was a great fall of ſnow, and that was followed by a moſt violent froſt, which continued the longeſt of any in the memory of man: And though there were ſhort intervals, of a few days of thaw, we had four returns of an extreme froſt, the whole laſting about three months. Many died in ſeveral parts, by the extremity of the cold, it was ſcarce poſſible to keep the ſoldiers alive, even in their quarters: So that they muſt have periſhed, if they had not broke up the campaign before this hard ſeaſon. This coming on ſo quick, after all that was to be done abroad was effectuated, A very hard winter.

1708. gave new occaſions to thoſe, who made their remarks on providence, to obſerve the very great bleſſings of this conjuncture, wherein every thing that was deſigned, was happily ended juſt at the critical time, that it was become neceſſary to conclude the campaign: And indeed the concurrence of thoſe happy events, that had followed us all this year, from the Pretender's firſt ſetting out from Dunkirk, to the concluſion of it, was ſo ſignal, that it made great impreſſions on many of the chief officers, which ſome owned to my ſelf; though they were the perſons, from whom I expected it leaſt.

Sardinia and Minorca reduced.

The campaign in Spain was more equally ballanced: The Duke of Orleans took Tortoſa; Denia was alſo forced to capitulate, and the garriſon were made priſoners of war. But theſe loſſes by land, were well made up by the ſucceſſes of our fleet: Sardinia was reduced, after a very feeble and ſhort ſtruggle: The plenty of the iſland made the conqueſt the more conſiderable at that time, for in Catalonia they were much ſtraitened for want of proviſions, which were now ſupplied from Sardinia. Towards the end of the campaign, the fleet, with a thouſand land-men on board, came before Minorca, and in a few days made themſelves maſters of that iſland, and of thoſe forts that commanded Port Mahon, the only valuable thing in that iſland: All was carried after a very faint reſiſtance, the garriſons ſhewing either great cowardice, or great inclinations to King Charles. By this, our fleet had got a ſafe port, to lie in and refit, and to retire into on all occaſions; for till then we had no place nearer than Liſbon: This was ſuch an advantage to us, as made a great impreſſion on all the Princes and States in Italy.

The Pope threatens the Emperor with cenſures and a war.

At this time the Pope began to threaten the Emperor with eccleſiaſtical cenſures, and a war, for poſſeſſing himſelf of Commachio, and for taking quarters in the papal territories: He levied troops, and went often to review them, not without

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the affectation of shewing himself a general, as if he had been again to draw the sword, as St. Peter did: He opened Sixtus the fifth's Treasure, and took out of it 500,000 Crowns for this service: Many were afraid, that this war should have brought the Emperor's affairs into a new entanglement; for the court of France laid hold of this rupture, and to inflame it, sent Mareschal Tessé to Rome, to encourage the Pope, with great assurances of support. He was also ordered to try, if the great Duke, and the republicks of Venice and Genoa, could be engaged in an alliance against the Imperialists. 1708.

The Emperor bore all the Pope's threats with great patience, till the Duke of Savoy ended the campaign: That Duke, at the first opening of it, marched into Savoy, from whence it was thought his designs were upon Dauphiny. Villars was sent against him, to defend that frontier; though he did all he could to decline that command: He drew all his forces together to cover Dauphiny; and by these motions, the passage into the Alps was now open: So the Duke of Savoy secured that, and then marched back to besiege first Exilles, and then Fenestrella, two places strong by their situation, from whence excursions could have been made into Piedmont; so that in case of any misfortune, in that Duke's affairs, they would have been very uneasy neighbours to him: He took them both. The greatest difficulty in those sieges, was from the impracticableness of the ground, which drew them out into such a length, that the snow began to fall, by the time both were taken. By this means the Alps were cleared, and Dauphiny was now open to him: He was also master of the valley of Pragelas, and all things were ready, for a greater progress in another campaign.

The Duke of Savoy took Exilles and Fenestrella.

The Emperor's troops, that were commanded by him, were, at the end of the season, ordered to march into the Pope's territories; and were

1708. joined by ſome more troops, drawn out of the Milaneze, and the Mantuan. The Pope's troops began the war in a very barbarous manner; for while they were in a ſort of a ceſſation, they ſurprized a body of the Imperialiſts, and without mercy put them all to the ſword: But as the imperial army advanced, the Papalins, or, as the Italians in deriſion called them, the Papagallians, fled every where before them, even when they were three to one. As they came on, the Pope's territories and places were all caſt open to them: Bologna, the moſt important, and the richeſt of them all, capitulated; and received them without the leaſt reſiſtance. The people of Rome were uneaſy at the Pope's proceedings, and at the apprehenſions of a new ſack from a German army: They ſhewed this ſo openly, that tumults there were much dreaded, and many Cardinals declared openly againſt this war. The Emperor ſent a Miniſter to Rome, to ſee if matters could be accommodated: But the terms propoſed ſeemed to be of hard digeſtion, for the Pope was required to acknowledge King Charles, and in every particular to comply with the Emperor's demands.

The Pope is obliged to ſubmit to the Emperor.

The Pope was amazed at his ill ſucceſs, and at thoſe high terms; but there was no remedy left: The ill ſtate of affairs in France, was now ſo viſible, that no regard was had to the great promiſes, which Mareſchal Teſſé was making, nor was there any hopes of drawing the Princes and States of Italy, into an alliance for his defence. In concluſion, the Pope, after he had delayed yielding to the Emperor's demands long enough, to give the Imperialiſts time to eat up his country, at laſt ſubmitted to every thing; yet he delayed acknowledging King Charles for ſome months, though he then promiſed to do it; upon which the Emperor drew his troops out of his territories. The Pope

And acknowledged King Charles.

turned over the manner of acknowledging King Charles, to a congregation of Cardinals: But they

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had no mind to take the load of this upon themſelves, which would draw an excluſion upon them from France, in every conclave; they left it to the Pope, and he affected delays: So that it was not done, till the end of the following year. 1708.

The affairs in Hungray continued in the ſame ill ſtate, in which they had been for ſome years: The Emperor did not grant the demands of the diet, that he had called; nor did he redreſs their grievances, and he had not a force ſtrong enough to reduce the malecontents: So that his council could not fall on methods, either to ſatisfy, or to ſubdue them. Affairs in Hungary.

Poland continued ſtill to be a ſcene of war and miſery; to their other calamities, they had the addition of a plague, which laid ſome of their great towns waſte: The party, formed againſt Staniſlaus, continued ſtill to oppoſe him, though they had no King to head them: The King of Sweden's warlike humour poſſeſſed him to ſuch a degree, that he reſolved to march into Muſcovy. The Czar tried, how far ſubmiſſions and interceſſions could ſoften him; but he was inflexible: He marched through the Ukrain, but made no great progreſs: The whole Muſcovite force fell on one of his generals, that had about him only a part of his army, and gave him a total defeat, moſt of his horſe being cut off. After that, we were, for many months, without any certain news from thoſe parts: Both ſides pretended, they had great advantages; and as Staniſlaus's intereſts carried him to ſet out and magnify the Swediſh ſucceſs, ſo the party that oppoſed him, ſtudied as much to raiſe the credit of the Muſcovites: So that it was not yet eaſy to know, what to believe further, than that there had been no deciſive action, throughout the whole year; nor was there any during the following winter. And in Poland.

Our affairs at ſea were leſs unfortunate this year, than they had been formerly: The merchants were better ſerved with convoys, and we made no conſiderable Affairs at ſea.

1708. ſiderable loſſes. A ſquadron that was ſent to the bay of Mexico, met with the galleons, and engaged them: If all their Captains had done their duty, they had been all taken: Some few fought well. The Admiral of the galleons, which carried a great treaſure, was ſunk; the Vice-Admiral was taken, and the Rear-Admiral run himſelf aſhore near Cartagena, the reſt got away. The enemy loſt a great deal by this action, though we did not gain ſo much as we might have done, if all our Captains had been brave and diligent. Another ſquadron carried over the Queen of Portugal, which was performed with great magnificence; ſhe had a quick and eaſy paſſage. This did in ſome meaſure compenſate to that Crown for our failing them, in not ſending over the ſupplies that we had ſtipulated; it was a particular happineſs, that the Spaniards were ſo weak, as not to be able to take advantage of the naked and unguarded ſtate, in which the Portugueze were at this time.

Prince George's death. In the end of October, George Prince of Denmark died, in the fifty-ſixth year of his age, after he had been twenty-five years and ſome months married to the Queen: He was aſthmatical, which grew on him with his years; for ſome time he was conſidered as a dying man, but the laſt year of his life, he ſeemed to be recovered, to a better ſtate of health. The Queen had been, during the whole courſe of her marriage, an extraordinary tender and affectionate wife: And in all his illneſs, which laſted ſome years, ſhe would never leave his bed; but ſate up, ſometimes half the night in the bed by him, with ſuch care and concern, that ſhe was looked on very deſervedly, as a pattern in this reſpect.

And character. This Prince had ſhewed himſelf brave in war, both in Denmark and in Ireland: His temper was mild and gentle: He had made a good progreſs in mathematicks: He had travelled through France, Italy, and Germany, and knew much more, than he could well expreſs; for he ſpoke acquired lan-

guages ill and ungracefully. He was free from all vice: He meddled little in buſineſs, even after the Queen's acceſſion to the Crown: He was ſo gained to the tories, by the act which they carried in his favour, that he was much in their intereſt: He was unhappily prevailed with, to take on him the poſt of High-Admiral, of which he underſtood little; but was fatally led by thoſe, who had credit with him, who had not all of them his good qualities, but had both an ill temper and bad principles: His being bred to the ſea, gained him ſome credit in thoſe matters. In the conduct of our affairs, as great errors were committed, ſo great misfortunes had followed on them: All theſe were imputed to the Prince's eaſineſs, and to his favourite's ill management and bad deſigns. This drew a very heavy load on the Prince, and made his death to be the leſs lamented: The Queen was not only decently, but deeply affected with it. 1708.

A new miniſtry.

The Earl of Pembroke was now advanced to the poſt of High-Admiral; which he entered on with great uneaſineſs, and a juſt apprehenſion, of the difficulty of maintaining it well, in a time of war: He was at that time both Lord Preſident of the Council, and Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. The Earl of Wharton had the government of Ireland, and the Lord Somers was made Lord Preſident of the Council: The great capacity and inflexible integrity of this Lord, would have made his promotion to this poſt very acceptable to the whigs, at any juncture, but it was moſt particularly ſo at this time; for it was expected that propoſitions for a general peace would be quickly made; and ſo they reckoned, that the management of that, upon which, not only the ſafety of the nation, but of all Europe depended, was in ſure hands, when he was ſet at the head of the councils, upon whom, neither ill practices nor falſe colours were like to make any impreſſion. Thus the minds of all thoſe, who were truly zealous for the preſent conſtitution, were much quieted by this promo-

1708. tion; though their jealouſies had a deep root, and were not eaſily removed.

A new Parliament opened.

The Parliament was opened in the middle of November, with great advantage; for the preſent Miniſtry was now wholly ſuch, that it gave an entire content, to all who wiſhed well to our affairs: And the great ſucceſſes abroad, ſilenced thoſe who were otherwiſe diſpoſed to find fault, and to complain. The Queen did not think it decent for her to come to Parliament, during this whole ſeſſion: So it was managed by a commiſſion repreſenting her perſon. Sir Richard Onſlow was choſen Speaker, without the leaſt oppoſition: He was a worthy man, entirely zealous for the government; he was very acceptable to the whigs, and the tories felt that they had ſo little ſtrength in this Parliament, that they reſolved to lie ſilent, and to wait for ſuch advantages, as the circumſtances of affairs might give them. In the Houſe of Commons, the ſupplies that were demanded, were granted very unanimouſly, not only for maintaining the force then on foot, but for an augmentation of 10000 more: This was thought neceſſary to preſs the war with more force, as the ſureſt way to bring on a ſpeedy peace: The States agreed to the like augmentation on their ſide. The French, according to their uſual vanity, gave out, that they had great deſigns in view for the next campaign: And it was confidently ſpread about by the Jacobites, that a new invaſion was deſigned, both on Scotland and on Ireland. At the end of the campaign, Prince Eugene went to the court of Vienna, which obliged the Duke of Marlborough to ſtay on the other ſide, till he returned. Things went on in both Houſes, according to the directions given at court, for the court being now joined with the whigs, they had a clear majority in every thing: All elections were judged in favour of whigs and courtiers, but with ſo much partiality, that thoſe, who had formerly made loud complaints of the injuſtice of the tories, in determining elections,

ons, when they were a majority, were not so much as out of countenance, when they were reproached for the same thing: They pretended they were in a state of war with the tories, so that it was reasonable to retaliate this to them, on the account of their former proceedings: But this did not satisfy just and upright men, who would not do to others, that which they had complained of, when it was done to them, or to their friends. The House of Commons voted a supply of seven millions, for the service of the ensuing year; the land-tax, and the duty on malt, were readily agreed to: But it took some time to find funds for the rest, that they had voted. 1708.

A petition, of a new nature, was brought before the Lords, with relation to the election of the Peers from Scotland: There was a return made in due form, but a petition was laid before the House in the name of four Lords, who pretended that they ought to have been returned: The Duke of Queensbury had been created a Duke of Great Britain, by the title of Duke of Dover, yet he thought he had still a right to vote as a Peer of Scotland: He had likewise a proxy, so that two votes depended on this point, whether the Scotch Peerage did sink into the Peerage of Great Britain. Some Lords, who were prisoners in the castle of Edinburgh, on suspicion, as favouring the Pretender, had sent for the Sheriff of Lothian to the castle, and had taken the oaths before him; and upon that, were reckoned to be qualified to vote or make a proxy; now it was pretended, that the castle of Edinburgh was a constabulatory, and was out of the Sheriff's jurisdiction; and that therefore, he could not legally tender them the oaths: Some proxies were signed, without subscribing witnesses, a form necessary by their law: Other exceptions were also taken, from some rules of the law of Scotland, which had not been observed. The clerks being also complained of, they were 1709.

Debates concerning the elections of the Peers of Scotland.

1708. were sent for, and were ordered to bring up with them all instruments or documents relating to the election: When they came up, and every thing was laid before the House of Lords, the whole matter was long and well debated.

A Scotch Peer created a Peer of Great Britain was to have no vote there.

As to the Duke of Queensbury's voting among the Scotch Lords, it was said, that if a Peer of Scotland, being made a Peer of Great Britain, did still retain his interest in electing the sixteen from Scotland, this would create a great inequality among Peers; some having a vote by representation, as well as in person: The precedent was mischievous, since by the creating some of the chief families in Scotland, Peers of Great Britain, they would be able to carry the whole election of the sixteen, as they pleased. It was objected, that by a clause in the act passed since the union, the Peers of England (who were likewise Peers of Scotland) had a right to vote, in the election of Scotland, still reserved to them, so there seemed to be a parity in this case with that: But it was answered, that a Peer of England and a Peer of Scotland held their dignity under two different Crowns, and by two different Great Seals: But Great Britain, including Scotland as well as England, the Scotch Peerage must now merge in that of Great Britain: Besides, that there were but five, who were Peers of both kingdoms, before the Union; so that, as it might be reasonable to make provision for them, so was it of no great consequence; but if this precedent were allowed, it might go much further, and have very ill consequences. Upon a division of the House, the matter was determined against the Duke of Queensbury.

Other exceptions were determined.

A great deal was said both at the bar by lawyers, and in the debate in the House, upon the point of jurisdiction, and of the exemption of a constabulatory: It was said, that the Sheriffs court ought to be, as all courts were, open and free; and so could not be held within a castle or prison: But no express decision

ſion had ever been made in this matter. The pri- 1709.
ſoners had taken the oaths, which was the chief in-
tent of the law, in the beſt manner they could; ſo
that it ſeemed not reaſonable to cut them off from
the main privilege of peerage, that was reſerved to
them, becauſe they could not go abroad to the She-
riffs court: After a long debate, it was carried, that
the oaths were duly tendred to them. Some other
exceptions were proved and admitted, the returns
of ſome, certifying that they had taken the oaths,
were not ſealed, and ſome had ſigned theſe, without
ſubſcribing witneſſes: other exceptions were offered
from proviſions, the law of Scotland had made,
with relation to bonds and other deeds, which
had not been obſerved in making of proxies: But
the Houſe of Lords did not think theſe were of that
importance, as to vacate the proxies on that account.
So, after a full hearing, and a debate that laſted
many days, there was but one of the Peers, that
was returned, who was found not duly elected, and
only one of the petitioning Lords was brought into
the Houſe; the Marquis of Annandale was receiv-
ed, and the Marqueſs of Lothian was ſet aſide.

The Scotch Members in both Houſes were divid- A faction among the Scots.
ed into factions: The Duke of Queenſbury had
his party, ſtill depending on him: He was in ſuch
credit with the Lord Treaſurer and the Queen, that
all the poſts in Scotland were given to perſons re-
commended by him: The chief Miniſters at court
ſeemed to have laid it down for a maxim, not to be
departed from, to look carefully to elections in
Scotland; that the members returned from thence,
might be in an entire dependence on them, and be
either whigs or tories, as they ſhould ſhift ſides.
The Duke of Queenſbury was made third Secretary
of State; he had no foreign province aſſigned him,
but Scotland was left to his management: The
Dukes of Hamilton, Montroſs, and Roxburgh,
had ſet themſelves in an oppoſition to his power,
and had carried many elections againſt him: The
Lord

1709. Lord Somers and Sunderland ſupported them, but could not prevail with the Lord Treaſurer, to bring them into an equal ſhare of the adminiſtration; this had almoſt occaſioned a breach; for the whigs, though they went on in a conjunction with the Lord Treaſurer, yet continued ſtill to be jealous of him.

An act concerning trials of treaſons in Scotland.

Another act was brought in and paſſed in this ſeſſion, with relation to Scotland, which gave occaſion to great and long debates; what gave riſe to it was this: Upon the attempt made by the Pretender, many of the nobility and gentry of Scotland, who had all along adhered to that intereſt, were ſecured; and after the fleet was got back to Dunkirk, and the danger was over, they were ordered to be brought up priſoners to London; when they came, there was no evidence at all againſt them, ſo they were diſmiſſed, and ſent back to Scotland. No exceptions could be taken to the ſecuring them, while there was danger: But ſince nothing beſides preſumptions lay againſt them, the bringing them up to London, at ſuch a charge, and under ſuch a diſgrace, was much cenſured, as an unreaſonable and an unjuſt ſeverity; and was made uſe of, to give that nation a further averſion to the union. That whole matter was managed by the Scotch Lords then in the miniſtry, by which, they both revenged themſelves on ſome of their enemies, and made a ſhew of zeal for the government; though ſuch as did not believe them ſincere in theſe profeſſions, thought it was done on deſign to exaſperate the Scots the more, and ſo to diſpoſe them to wiſh for another invaſion. The whig Miniſtry in England diſowned all theſe proceedings, and uſed the Scots priſoners ſo well, that they went down much inclined to concur with them: But the Lord Godolphin fatally adhered to the Scotch Miniſters, and ſupported them, by which, the advantage that might have been made from theſe ſevere proceedings was loſt; but the chief occaſion given,

to

to the act concerning treasons in Scotland, was from a trial of some gentlemen of that kingdom, who had left their houses, when the Pretender was on the sea, and had gone about armed, and in so secret and suspicious a manner, that it gave great cause of jealousy: There was no clear evidence to convict them, but there were very strong, if not violent presumptions against them: Some forms in the trial had not been observed, which the criminal court judged were necessary, and not to be dispensed with. But the Queen's advocate Sir James Stuart was of another mind: The court thought it was necessary by their laws, that the names of the witnesses should have been signified to the prisoners fifteen days before their trial: But the Queen's advocate had not complied with this, as to the chief witnesses; so the court could not hear their evidence: He did not upon that move for a delay, so the trial went on, and the gentlemen were acquitted. Severe expostulations passed between the Queen's advocate and the court: They complained of one another to the Queen, and both sides justified their complaints in print. Upon this it appeared, that the laws in Scotland, concerning trials in cases of treason, were not fixed nor certain: So a bill was brought into the House of Commons, to settle that matter; but it was so much opposed by the Scotch Members, that it was dropt in the Committee: It was taken up and managed with more zeal by the Lords. 1709.

It consisted of three heads: All crimes, which were high-treason by the law of England (and these only) were to be high-treason in Scotland: the manner of proceeding settled in England was to be observed in Scotland; and the pains and forfeitures were to be the same in both nations. The Scotch Lords opposed every branch of this act: They moved, that all things that were high-treason by the law of England, might be enumerated in the act, for the information of the Scotch nation: Otherwise they must study the book of statutes, to know when they were safe, and when they The heads of the act.

1709. they were guilty. To this it was anſwered, that direction would be given to the judges, to publiſh an abſtract of the laws of high-treaſon, which would be a ſufficient information to the people of Scotland, in this matter: That nation would by this means be in a much ſafer condition, than they were now; for the laws they had, were conceived in ſuch general words, that the judges might put ſuch conſtructions on them, as ſhould ſerve the ends of a bad court; but they would by this act be reſtrained in this matter for the future.

The forms of proceeding in Scotland.

The ſecond head in this bill occaſioned a much longer debate: It changed the whole method of proceedings in Scotland: The former way there was, the Queen's advocate ſigned a citation of the perſons, ſetting forth the ſpecial matter of high-treaſon, of which they were accuſed; this was to be delivered to them, together with the names of the witneſſes, fifteen days before the trial. When the jury was empannelled, no peremptory challenges were allowed; reaſons were to be offered with every challenge, and if the court admitted them, they were to be proved immediately. Then the matter of the charge, which is there called the relevancy of the libel, was to be argued by lawyers, whether the matter, ſuppoſe it ſhould be proved, did amount to high-treaſon or not; this was to be determined by a ſentence of the court, called the Interloquitur: And the proof of the fact was not till then to be made: Of that the jury had the cognizance. Antiently the verdict went with the majority, the number being fifteen; but by a late act, the verdict was to be given, upon the agreement of two third parts of the jury: In the ſentence, the law did not limit the Judges to a certain form, but they could aggravate the puniſhment, or moderate it, according to the circumſtances of the caſe. All this method was to be ſet aſide: A grand jury was to find the bill, the Judges were only to regulate proceedings, and to declare what the law was, and the whole

whole matter of the indictment was to be left entirely to the jury, who were to be twelve, and all to agree in their verdict. 1709.

In one particular, the forms in Scotland were much preferable to those in England; the depositions of the witnesses were taken indeed by word of mouth, but were writ out, and after that were signed by the witnesses; they were sent in to the jury; and these were made a part of the record. This was very slow and tedious, but the jury, by this means, was more certainly possessed of the evidence; and the matter was more clearly delivered down to posterity: whereas the records in England are very defective, and give no light to a historian, that peruses them, as I found when I wrote the History of the reformation.

The Scotch opposed this alteration of their way of proceeding; they said, that neither the Judges, the advocates, nor the clerks would know how to manage a trial of treason: They insisted most on the having the names of the witnesses, to be given to the persons, some days before their trial: It seemed reasonable, that a man should know who was to be brought to witness against him, that so he might examine his life, and see what credit ought to be given to him: On the other hand it was said, this would open a door to much practice, either upon the witnesses to corrupt them, or in suborning other witnesses, to defame them. To this it was answered, that a guilty man knew what could be brought against him, and without such notice would take all the methods possible to defend himself: But provision ought to be made for innocent men, whose chief guilt might be a good estate, upon which a favourite might have an eye: And therefore such persons ought to be taken care of. This was afterwards so much softened, that it was only desired, that the names of the witnesses, that had given evidence to the grand jury should, upon their finding the bill, be signified to the prisoner, five days before his trial. Upon a division of the House on this

1709. this queſtion, the votes were equal; ſo by the rule of the Houſe, that in ſuch a caſe the negative prevails, it was loſt. Upon the third head of the bill, the debates grew ſtill warmer: In Scotland many families were ſettled by long entails and perpetuities; ſo it was ſaid, that ſince, by one of the articles of the union, all private rights were ſtill preſerved, no breach could be made on theſe ſettlements. I carried this farther: I thought it was neither juſt nor reaſonable to ſet the children on begging, for their father's faults: The Romans, during their liberty, never thought of carrying puniſhments ſo far: It was an invention, under the tyranny of the Emperors, who had a particular revenue called the Fiſc, and all forfeitures were claimed by them, from whence they were called confiſcations: It was never the practice of free governments: Bologna flouriſhed beyond any town in the Pope's dominions, becauſe they made it an article of their capitulation with the Pope, that no confiſcation ſhould follow on any crime whatſoever. In Holland the confiſcation was redeemable by ſo very ſmall a ſum, as an hundred guilders: Many inſtances could be brought of proſecutions, only to obtain the confiſcation: But none of the Lords ſeconded me in this; it was acknowledged, that this was juſt and reaſonable, and fit to be paſſed in good times, but ſince we were now expoſed to ſo much danger from abroad, it did not ſeem adviſable to abate the ſeverity of the law: But clauſes were agreed to, by which, upon marriages, ſettlements might be made in Scotland, as was practiſed in England; for no eſtate is forfeited for the crime of him, who is only tenant for life. By this act alſo, tortures were condemned, and the Queen was empowered to grant commiſſions of Oyer and Terminer as in England, for trying treaſons: The Scotch inſiſted on this, that the juſticiary or the criminal court being preſerved by an article of the union, this broke in upon that. It was anſwered, the criminal court was ſtill to ſit, in the

Of the forfeitures in caſes of treaſon.

times regulated: But these commissions were granted upon special occasions. In the intervals, between the terms, it might be necessary upon some emergency not to delay trials too long: But to give some content, it was provided by a clause, that a Judge of the criminal court should be always one of the Quorum, in these commissions: So the bill passed in the House of Lords, notwithstanding the opposition of all the Scotch Lords, with whom many of the tories concurred; they being disposed to oppose the court in every thing, and to make treason as little to be dreaded as possible. 1709.

The bill met with the same opposition in the House of Commons; yet it passed with two amendments: By one, the names of the witnesses, that had appeared before the grand jury, were ordered to be sent to the prisoner, ten days before his trial: The other was, that no estate in land was to be forfeited, upon a judgment of high-treason: This came up fully to the motion I had made. Both these amendments were looked on as such popular things, that it was not probable, that the House of Commons would recede from them: Upon that the whigs in the House of Lords did not think fit to oppose them, or to lose the bill: So it was moved to agree to these amendments, with this proviso, that they should not take place till after the death of the Pretender: It was said, that since he assumed the title of King of Great Britain, and had so lately attempted to invade us, it was not reasonable to lessen the punishment, and the dread of treason, as long as he lived. Others objected to this, that there would be still a Pretender after him, since so many persons stood in the lineal descent before the House of Hanover; so that this proviso seemed to be, upon the matter, the rejecting the amendment: but it was observed, that to pretend to the right of succeeding, was a different thing from assuming the title, and attempting an invasion. The amendment was received by the House of Lords with this pro- Amendments to the act.

1709. viſo; thoſe who were againſt the whole bill, did not agree to it. The Houſe of Commons conſented to the proviſo, which the Lords had added to their amendment, with a farther addition, that it ſhould not take place till three years after the houſe of Hanover ſhould ſucceed to the crown.

It paſſed in both Houſes.

This met with great oppoſition, it was conſidered as a diſtinguiſhing character of thoſe, who were for or againſt the preſent conſtitution, and the ſucceſſion; the Scots ſtill oppoſing it on the account of their formal laws: Both parties muſtered up their ſtrength, and many, who had gone into the country, were brought up on this occaſion: So that the bill, with all the amendments and proviſo's, was carried by a ſmall majority; the Lords agreeing to this new amendment. The Scotch members in both Houſes ſeemed to apprehend, that the bill would be very odious in their country; ſo to maintain their intereſt at home, they, who were divided in every thing elſe, did agree in oppoſing this bill.

An act of grace.

The court apprehended from the heat, with which the debates were managed, and the difficulty in carrying the bill through both Houſes, that ill-diſpoſed men would endeavour to poſſeſs people with apprehenſions of bad deſigns and ſeverities, that would be ſet on foot; ſo they reſolved to have an act of grace immediately upon it: It was the firſt the Queen had ſent, though ſhe had then reigned above ſeven years: The Miniſters, for their own ſake, took care that it ſhould be very full; it was indeed fuller than any former act of grace, all treaſons committed before the ſigning the act, which was the 19th of April, were pardoned, thoſe only excepted that were done upon the ſea: By this, thoſe who had imbarked with the Pretender were ſtill at mercy. This act, according to form, was read once in both Houſes, and with the uſual compliments of thanks, and with that the ſeſſion ended.

Other

Other things of great importance paſſed during this ſeſſion: The Houſe of Commons voted an enlargement of the Bank, almoſt to three millions, upon which, the books were opened to receive new ſubſcriptions: and to the admiration of all Europe, as well as of our ſelves at home, the whole ſum was ſubſcribed in a few hours time: This ſhewed both the wealth of the nation, and the confidence that all people had in the government. By this ſubſcription, and by a further prolongation of the general mortgage of the revenue, they created good funds, for anſwering all the money, that they had voted in the beginning of the ſeſſion. 1709. An enlargement of the Bank.

Our trade was now very high; and was carried on every where with advantage, but no where more than at Liſbon: For the Portugueze were ſo happy, in their dominions in America, that they diſcovered vaſt quantities of gold in their mines, and we were aſſured that they had brought home to Portugal, the former year, about four millions Sterling, of which they, at that time, ſtood in great need, for they had a very bad harveſt: But gold anſwers all things: They were ſupplied from England with corn, and we had in return a large ſhare of their gold. Great riches in Portugal.

An act paſſed in this ſeſſion, that was much deſired, and had been often attempted, but had been laid aſide in ſo many former Parliaments, that there was ſcarce any hopes left to encourage a new attempt: It was for naturalizing all foreign Proteſtants, upon their taking the oaths to the government, and their receiving the ſacrament in any proteſtant church. Thoſe who were againſt the act, ſoon perceived that they could have no ſtrength, if they ſhould ſet themſelves directly to oppoſe it; ſo they ſtudied to limit ſtrangers in the receiving the ſacrament to the way of the church of England. This probably would not have hindred many, who were otherwiſe diſpoſed to come among us: For the much greater part of the French came into the way of our church. An act for a general naturalization of all proteſtants.

1709. But it was thought beſt to caſt the door as wide open as poſſible, for encouraging of ſtrangers: And therefore ſince, upon their firſt coming over, ſome might chuſe the way, to which they had been accuſtomed beyond ſea, it ſeemed the more inviting method to admit of all who were in any proteſtant communion: This was carried in the Houſe of Commons, with a great majority; but all thoſe, who appeared for this large and comprehenſive way, were reproached for their coldneſs and indifference in the concerns of the church: And in that I had a large ſhare; as I ſpoke copiouſly for it, when it was brought up to the Lords: the Biſhop of Cheſter ſpoke as zealouſly againſt it, for he ſeemed reſolved to diſtinguiſh himſelf, as a zealot for that which was called high-church. The bill paſſed with very little oppoſition.

An addreſs to the Queen when a treaty of peace ſhould be opened.

There was all this winter great talk of peace; which the miſeries and neceſſity of France ſeemed to drive them to: This gave occaſion to a motion, concerted among the whigs, and opened by the Lord Halifax, that an addreſs ſhould be made to the Queen, to conclude no peace with France, till they ſhould diſown the Pretender, and ſend him out of that kingdom, and till the proteſtant ſucceſſion ſhould be univerſally owned, and that a guaranty ſhould be ſettled among the allies for ſecuring it. None durſt venture to oppoſe this, ſo it was eaſily agreed to, and ſent down to the Houſe of Commons, for their concurrence. They preſently agreed to it, but added to it, a matter of great importance, that the demoliſhing of Dunkirk ſhould be likewiſe inſiſted on, before any peace were concluded: So both Houſes carried this addreſs to the Queen, who received and anſwered it very favourably. This was highly acceptable to the whole nation, and to all our allies. Theſe were the moſt conſiderable tranſactions of this ſeſſion of Parliament, which was concluded on the 21ſt of April.

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The Convocation was ſummoned, choſen, and returned as the Parliament was: But it was too evident, that the ſame ill temper, that had appeared in former Convocations, did ſtill prevail, though not with ſuch a majority: When the day came, in which it was to be opened, a writ was ſent from the Queen to the Archbiſhop ordering him to prorogue the Convocation for ſome months: And at the end of theſe, there came another writ, ordering a further prorogation: So the Convocation was not opened during this ſeſſion of Parliament; by this, a preſent ſtop was put to the factious temper of thoſe, who ſtudied to recommend themſelves by embroiling the church. 1709. The Convocation was put off by a prorogation.

It did not cure them; for they continued ſtill by libels and falſe ſtories to animate their party: And ſo catching a thing is this turbulent ſpirit, when once it prevails among clergymen, that the ſame ill temper began to ferment and ſpread it ſelf among the clergy of Ireland; none of thoſe diſputes had ever been thought of in that church formerly, as they had no records nor minutes of former Convocations. The faction here in England found out proper inſtruments, to ſet the ſame humour on foot, during the Earl of Rocheſter's government, and, as was ſaid, by his directions: And it being once ſet a going, it went on by reaſon of the indolence of the ſucceeding governors: So the clergy were making the ſame bold claim there, that had raiſed ſuch diſputes among us; and upon that, the party here publiſhed thoſe pretenſions of theirs, with their uſual confidence, as founded on a clear poſſeſſion and preſcription: And drew an argument from that, to juſtify and ſupport their own pretenſions, though thoſe in Ireland never dreamed of them, till they had the pattern and encouragement from hence. This was received by the party with great triumph, into ſuch indirect practices do mens ill deſigns and animoſities engage them: But though this whole matter was well detected A faction among the clergy of Ireland. An ill temper among our clergy ſtill kept up.

1709. detected and made appear, to their ſhame, who had built ſo much upon it, yet parties are never out of countenance; but when one artifice fails, they will lay out for another. The ſecret encouragement, with which they did moſt effectually animate their party, was, that the Queen's heart was with them: And that though the war, and the other circumſtances of her affairs, obliged her at preſent to favour the moderate party, yet as ſoon as a peace brought on a better ſettlement, they promiſed themſelves all favour at her hands. It was not certain, that they had then any ground for this, or that ſhe herſelf, or any by her order, gave them theſe hopes; but this is certain, that many things might have been done to extinguiſh thoſe hopes, which were not done: So that they ſeemed to be left to pleaſe themſelves with thoſe expectations, which kept ſtill life in their party; and indeed it was but too viſible, that the much greater part of the clergy were in a very ill temper, and under very bad influences; enemies to the toleration, and ſoured againſt the diſſenters.

Negotiations for peace.

I now muſt relate the negotiations, that the French ſet on foot for a peace. Soon after the battle of Ramellies, the Elector of Bavaria gave out hopes of a peace; and that the King of France would come to a treaty of partition; that Spain and the Weſt-Indies ſhould go to King Charles if the dominions of Italy were given to King Philip. They hoped that England and the States would agree to this, as leſs concerned in Italy: But they knew, the Court of Vienna would never hearken to it; for they valued the dominions in Italy, with the Iſlands near them, much more than all the reſt of the Spaniſh Monarchy. But at the ſame time, that Lewis the XIVth was tempting us, with the hopes of Spain and the Weſt-Indies; by a letter to the Pope, that King offered the dominions in Italy to King Charles. The Parliament had always declared, the ground of the war to be, the reſtoring the

the whole Spaniſh Monarchy to the Houſe of Auſtria, (which indeed the States had never done) ſo the Duke of Marlborough could not hearken to this: He convinced the States of the treacherous deſigns of the Court of France, in this offer, and it was not entertained. 1709.

The Court of Vienna was ſo alarmed at the inclinations, ſome had expreſſed towards the entertaining this project, that this was believed to be the ſecret motive of the treaty, the ſucceeding winter, for evacuating the Milaneſe, and of their perſiſting ſo obſtinately, the ſummer after, in their deſigns upon Naples; for by this means they became maſters of both. The French, being now reduced to great extremities, by their conſtant ill ſucceſs, and by the miſeries of their people, reſolved to try the States again; and when the Duke of Marlborough came over to England, Mr. Rouillé was ſent to Holland, with general offers of peace, deſiring them to propoſe what it was they inſiſted on: And he offered them as good a barrier for themſelves as they could aſk. The States, contrary to their expectation, reſolved to adhere firmly to their confederates, and to enter into no ſeparate treaty, but in conjunction with their allies: So, upon the Duke of Marborough's return, they, with their allies, began to prepare Preliminaries, to be firſt agreed to, before a general treaty ſhould be opened: They had been ſo well acquainted with the perfidious methods of the French court, when a treaty was once opened, to divide the allies, and to create jealouſies among them, and had felt ſo ſenſibly the ill effects of this, both at Nimeguen and Ryſwick, that they reſolved to uſe all neceſſary precautions for the future; ſo preliminaries were prepared. and the Duke of Marlborough came over hither, to concert them with the miniſtry at home.

In this ſecond abſence of his, Mr. de Torcy, the ſecretary of State for foreign affairs, was ſent to

1709. the Hague, the better to diſpoſe the States to peace, by the influence of ſo great a Miniſter; no methods were left untried, both with the States in general, and with every man they ſpoke with in particular, to beget in them a full aſſurance of the King's ſincere intentions for peace: But they knew the artifices of that court too well, to be ſoon deceived; ſo they made no advances till the Duke of Marlborough came back, who carried over the Lord Viſcount Townſhead, to be conjunct Plenipotentiary with himſelf, reckoning the load too great to bear it wholly on himſelf. The choice was well made; for as Lord Townſhend had great parts, had improved theſe by travelling, and was by much the moſt ſhining perſon of all our young nobility, and had, on many occaſions, diſtinguiſhed himſelf very eminently; ſo he was a man of great integrity, and of good principles in all reſpects, free from all vice, and of an engaging converſation.

The preliminaries agreed on.

The foundation of the whole treaty was, the reſtoring of the whole Spaniſh monarchy to King Charles, within two months: Torcy ſaid, the time was too ſhort, and that perhaps it was not in the King of France's power to bring that about; for the Spaniards ſeemed reſolved to ſtick to King Philip. It was, upon this, inſiſted on, that the King of France ſhould be obliged to concur with the allies, to force it by all proper methods: But this was not farther explained, for the allies were well aſſured, that if it was ſincerely intended by France, there would be no great difficulty in bringing it about. This therefore being laid down as the baſis of the treaty, the other preliminaries related to the reſtoring all the places in the Netherlands, except Cambray and St. Omer; the demoliſhing or reſtoring of Dunkirk; the reſtoring of Straſbourg, Briſack, and Huningen to the empire; Newfoundland to England; and Savoy to that Duke, beſides his continuing poſſeſſed of all, he then had in his hands; the acknowledging the

the King of Prussia's Royal dignity; and the electorate in the House of Brunswick; the sending the Pretender out of France, and the owning the succession to the Crown of England, as it was settled by law. As all the great interests were provided for, by these preliminaries; so all other matters were reserved to be considered, when the treaty of Peace should be opened: A cessation of all hostilities was to begin, within two months, and to continue till all was concluded by a compleat treaty, and ratified; provided the Spanish Monarchy was then intirely restored. The French Plenipotentiaries seemed to be confounded at these demands. Torcy excepted to the leaving Exilles and Fenestrella in the Duke of Savoy's hands; for he said, he had no instructions relating to them: But in conclusion, they seemed to submit to them, and Torcy at parting desired the ratifications might be returned with all possible haste, and promised that the King of France's final answer should be sent, by the fourth of June; but spoke of their affairs as a man in despair: He said, he did not know but he might find King Philip at Paris, before he got thither, and said all that was possible, to assure them of the sincerity of the King of France, and to divert them from the thoughts of opening the campaign; but at the same time King Philip was getting his Son, the Prince of Asturias, to be acknowledged, by all the towns and bodies of Spain, as the heir of that monarchy. 1709.

The King of France refuses to ratify them

Upon this outward appearance of agreeing to the preliminaries, all people looked upon the peace to be as good as made; and ratifications came from all the courts of the Allies, but the King of France refused to agree to them: He pretended some exceptions to the articles, relating to the Emperor, and the Duke of Savoy; but insisted chiefly on that, of not beginning the suspension of arms, till the Spanish monarchy should be all restored; he said, that was not in his power to execute; he ordered

1709. ordered his Miniſter afterwards to yield up all but this laſt; and by a third perſon, one Pettecum, it was offered, to put ſome more towns into the hands of the Allies, to be kept by them, till Spain was reſtored. It appeared by this, that the French had no other deſign in all this negotiation, but to try if they could beget an ill underſtanding among the Allies, or, by the ſeeming great conceſſions, for the ſecurity of the States, provoke the people of Holland againſt their magiſtrates, if they ſhould carry on the war, when they ſeemed to be ſafe; and they reckoned, if a ſuſpenſion of arms could be once obtained, upon any other terms, than the reſtoring of Spain, then France would get out of the war, and the Allies muſt try, how they could conquer Spain. France had ſo perfidiouſly broke all their treaties, during this King's reign, that it was a piece of inexcuſable folly, to expect any other from them. In the peace of the Pyrenees, where the intereſt of France was not ſo deeply engaged, to preſerve Portugal from falling under the yoke of Caſtile, as it was now to preſerve Spain in the hands of a grandſon; after the King had ſworn to give no aſſiſtance to Portugal, yet, under the pretence of breaking ſome bodies, he ſuffered them to be entertained by the Portugueze Ambaſſador, and ſent Schomberg to command that army; pretending he could not hinder one, that was a German by birth, to go and ſerve where he pleaſed: Under theſe pretences, he had broke his faith, where the conſideration was not ſo ſtrong, as in the preſent caſe. Thus it was viſible no faith, that King could give, was to be relied on, and that unleſs Spain was reſtored, all would prove a fatal deluſion: Beſides, it came afterwards to be known, that the places in Brabant and Hainault, commanded by the Elector of Bavaria, would not have been evacuated by him, unleſs he had orders for it from the King of Spain, under whom he governed in them; and that was not to be expected: So the eaſineſs, with which

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the French miniſters yielded to the preliminaries, was now underſtood to be an artifice, to ſlacken the zeal of the confederates, in advancing the campaign, as the leaſt effect it would have: But in that, their hopes failed them, for there was no time loſt, in preparing to take the field. 1709.

I do not mix, with the relation that I have given upon good authority, the uncertain reports we had of diſtractions in the court of France, where it was ſaid, that the Duke of Burgundy preſſed the making a peace, as neceſſary to prevent the ruin of France, while the Dauphin preſſed more vehemently the continuance of the war, and the ſupporting of the King of Spain: It was ſaid, that Madam Maintenon appeared leſs at court; Chamillard, who had moſt of her favour, was diſmiſſed: But it is not certain, what influence that had on the publick councils; and the conduct of this whole negotiation ſhewed plainly, that there was nothing deſigned in it, but to divide, or to deceive the confederates; and, if poſſible, to gain a ſeparate peace for France; and then to let the Allies conquer Spain as they could. But the Allies kept firm to one another, and the treachery of the French appeared ſo viſible, even to the people in Holland, that all the hopes they had, of inflaming them againſt their magiſtrates, likewiſe failed. The people in France were much wrought on, by this pretended indignity offered to their monarch, to oblige him to force his grandſon to abandon Spain; and even, here in England, there wanted not many, who ſaid it was a cruel hardſhip put on the French King, to force him into ſuch an unnatural war: But if he was guilty of the injuſtice, of putting him in poſſeſſion of that kingdom, it was but a reaſonable piece of juſtice, to undo what he himſelf had done: And it was ſo viſible, that King Philip was maintained on that throne, by the councils and aſſiſtance of France, that no doubt was made, but that, if the King of France had really deſigned it,

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1706. he could eaſily have obliged him to relinquiſh all pretenſions to that crown.

The war went on, Thus the negotiations came ſoon to an end; without producing any ill effect among the Allies; and all the Miniſters at the Hague made great acknowledgments to the penſioner Heinſius, and to the States, for the candor and firmneſs they had expreſſed on that occaſion. The miſeries of France were repreſented, from all parts, as extreme great; the proſpect both for corn and wine was ſo low, that they ſaw no hope nor relief. They ſent to all places for corn, to preſerve their people, many of the ſhips that brought it to them, were taken by our men of war; but this did not touch the heart of their King, who ſeemed to have hardened himſelf, againſt the ſenſe of the miſeries of his people. Villars was ſent to command the armies in Flanders, of whom the King of France ſaid, that he was never beaten; Harcourt was ſent to command on the Rhine, and the Duke of Berwick in Dauphiny. This ſummer paſſed over, without any conſiderable action in Spain: There was an engagement on the frontier of Portugal, in which the Portugueze behaved themſelves very ill, and were beaten; but the Spaniards did not purſue the advantage they had by this action: For they, apprehending that our fleet might have a deſign upon ſome part of their ſouthern coaſt, were forced to draw their troops from the frontiers of Portugal, to defend their own coaſt; though we gave them no diſturbance on that ſide.

In Portugal,

In Spain, The King of France, to carry on the ſhow of a deſign for peace, withdrew his troops out of Spain, but at the ſame time took care, to encourage the Spaniſh grandees, to ſupport his grandſon: And ſince it was viſible, that either the Spaniards, or the Allies, were to be deceived by him, it was much more reaſonable to believe that the Allies, and not the Spaniards, were to feel the effects of this fraudulent way of proceeding. The French General

Beſons, who commanded in Arragon, had indeed orders not to venture on a battle, for that would have been too groſs a thing, to be in any wiſe palliated; but he continued all this ſummer commanding their armies. Nothing of any importance paſſed on the ſide of Dauphiny: The Emperor continued ſtill to refuſe complying with the Duke of Savoy's demands; ſo he would not make the campaign in perſon, and his troops kept on the defenſive. On the other hand, the French, as they ſaw they were to be feebly attacked, were too weak to do any thing more, than cover their own country. Little was expected on the Rhine; the Germans were ſo weak, ſo ill furniſhed, and ſo ill paid, that it was not eaſy for the court of Vienna to prevail on the Elector of Brunſwick to undertake the command of that army; yet he came at laſt: And upon his coming, the French, who had paſſed the Rhine, thought it was ſafeſt for them to repaſs that river, and to keep within their lines. The Elector ſent Count Mercy, with a conſiderable body, to paſs the Rhine near Baſil, and on deſign to break into Franche Comté; but a detached body of the French, lying in their way, there followed a very ſharp engagement; 2000 men were reckoned to be killed on each ſide; but though the loſs of men was reckoned equal, yet the deſign miſcarried, and the Germans were forced to repaſs the Rhine. The reſt of the campaign went over there, without any action.

1709.

In Dauphiny.

In Germany.

The chief ſcene was in Flanders; where the Duke of Marlborough truſting little to the ſhews of peace, had every thing in readineſs to open the campaign, as ſoon as he ſaw what might be expected from the court of France. The army was formed near Liſle, and the French lay near Doway; the train of artillery was, by a feint, brought up the Lys to Courtray; ſo it was believed the deſign was upon Ypres, and there being no apprehenſion of any attempt on Tournay, no particular care was taken

And in Flanders.

1709. taken of it; but it was on the ſudden inveſted, and the train was ſent back to Ghendt, and brought up the Scheld to Tournay. The ſiege was carried on regularly: No diſturbance was given to the works by ſallies, ſo the town capitulated within a month, the garriſon being allowed to retire into the citadel, which was counted one of the ſtrongeſt in Europe, not only fortified with the utmoſt exactneſs, but all the ground was wrought into mines; ſo that the reſiſtance of the garriſon was not ſo much apprehended, as the miſchief they might do by blowing up their mines. A capitulation was propoſed, for delivering it up on the fifth of September, if it ſhould not be relieved ſooner, and that all hoſtilities ſhould ceaſe till then. This was offered by the garriſon, and agreed to by the Duke of Marlborough; but the King of France would not conſent to it, unleſs there were a general ſuſpenſion, by the whole army, of all hoſtilities; and that being rejected, the ſiege went on. Many men were loſt in it, but the proceeding by ſap prevented much miſchief; in the end no relief came, and the garriſon capitulated in the beginning of September but could obtain no better conditions, than to be made priſoners of war.

Tournay is beſieged and taken.

After this ſiege was over, Mons was inveſted and the troops marched thither, as ſoon as they had levelled their trenches about Tournay: But the court of France reſolved to venture a battle rather than to look on, and ſee ſo important a place taken from them. Boufflers was ſent from court to join with Villars, in the execution of this deſign: They poſſeſſed themſelves of a wood, and intrenched themſelves ſo ſtrongly, that in ſome places there were three intrenchments caſt up, one within another. The Duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene ſaw plainly, it was not poſſible to carry on the ſiege of Mons, while the French army lay ſo near it; ſo it was neceſſary to diſlodge them. The attempt was bold, and they ſaw the executio

would

would be difficult, and coſt them many men. This was the ſharpeſt action in the whole war, and laſted the longeſt. The French were poſted ſo advantageouſly, that our men were oft repulſed; and indeed the French maintained their ground better, and ſhewed more courage, than appeared in the whole courſe of the war: Yet in concluſion they were driven from all their poſts, and the action ended in a compleat victory. The number of ſlain was almoſt equal on both ſides, about 12000 of a ſide. We took 500 officers priſoners, beſides many cannon, ſtandards, and enſigns. Villars was diſabled by ſome wounds he received, ſo Boufflers made the retreat in good order. The military men have always talked of this, as the ſharpeſt action in the whole war, not without reflecting on the Generals, for beginning ſo deſperate an attack. The French thought it a ſort of a victory, that they had animated their men, to fight ſo well behind entrenchments, and to repulſe our men ſo often, and with ſo great loſs. They retired to Valenciennes, and ſecured themſelves by caſting up ſtrong lines, while they left our army to carry on the ſiege of Mons, without giving them the leaſt diſturbance. As ſoon as the train of artillery was brought from Bruſſels, the ſiege was carried on with great vigour, though the ſeaſon was both cold and rainy: The outworks were carried with little reſiſtance, and Mons capitulated about the end of October; with that the campaign ended, both armies retiring into winter quarters. 1709. The battle of Blaregnies. Mons beſieged and taken.

The moſt important thing, that relates to Italy, was, that the Pope delayed acknowledging King Charles, by ſeveral pretended difficulties; his deſign being to ſtay and ſee the iſſue of the campaign; but when he was threatned, towards the end of it, that if it was not done, the imperial army ſhould come and take up their winter quarters in the eccleſiaſtical ſtate, he ſubmitted, and acknowledged him. He ſent alſo his Nephew Affairs in Italy.

1709. Albano, first to Vienna, and then to Poland; he furnished him with a magnificent retinue, and seemed to hope, that by the services he should do to the papal interests there, he should be pressed to make him a cardinal, notwithstanding the bull against Nepotism.

Affairs in Spain. In Catalonia, Staremberg, after he received reinforcements from Italy, advanced towards the Segra, and having for some days amused the enemy, he passed the river: The Spaniards designed to give him battle, but Besons, who commanded the French troops, refused to engage; this provoked the Spaniards so much, that King Philip thought it was necessary to leave Madrid, and go to the army; Besons produced his orders from the King of France, to avoid all engagements, with which he seemed much mortified. Staremberg advanced and took Balaguer, and made the garrison prisoners of war; and with that the campaign on that side was at an end.

The King of Sweden's defeat. This summer brought a Catastrophe on the affairs of the King of Sweden: He resolved to invade Muscovy, and engaged himself so far into the Ukrain, that there was no possibility of his retreating, or of having reinforcements brought him. He engaged a great body of Cossacks to join him, who were easily drawn to revolt from the Czar: He met with great misfortunes, in the end of the former year, but nothing could divert him from his designs against Muscovy: He passed the Nieper, and besieged Pultowa: The Czar marched to raise the siege, with an army in number much superior to the Swedes; but the King of Sweden resolved to venture on a battle, in which he received such a total defeat, that he lost his camp, his artillery, and baggage: A great part of his army got off, but being closely pursued by the Muscovites, and having neither bread nor ammunition, they were all made prisoners of war.

The

The King himſelf, with a ſmall number about him, paſſed the Nieper, and got into the Turkiſh dominions, and ſettled at Bender, a town in Moldavia. Upon this great reverſe of his affairs, King Auguſtus pretended, that the reſignation of the Crown of Poland was extorted from him by force, and that it was not in his power to reſign the Crown, by which he was tied to the republick of Poland, without their conſent: So he marched into Poland, and Staniſlaus was not able to make any reſiſtance, but continued under the protection of the Swedes, waiting for another reverſe of fortune. A project was formed to engage the Kings of Denmark and Pruſſia, with King Auguſtus and the Czar, to attack the Swedes in ſo many different places, that the extravagant humour of their King was like now to draw a heavy ſtorm upon them; if England and the States, with the Court of Vienna, had not cruſhed all this, and entred into a guaranty, for preſerving the peace of the empire, and by conſequence, of the Swediſh dominions in Germany. Dantzick was at this time ſeverely viſited with a plague, which ſwept away almoſt one half of their inhabitants, though few of the better ſort died of the infection. This put their neighbours under great apprehenſions, they feared the ſpreading of the contagion; but it pleaſed God, it went no farther. This ſudden, and, as it ſeemed, total reverſe of all the deſigns of the King of Sweden, who had been for many years the terror of all his neighbours, made me write to Dr. Robinſon, who had lived above thirty years in that Court, and is now Biſhop of Briſtol, for a particular character of that King. I ſhall ſet it down in his own Words. 1709. The King flies into Turkey.

He is now in the 28th year of his age, tall and ſlender, ſtoops a little, and in his walking diſcovers, though in no great degree, the effect of breaking his thigh-bone about eight years ago: He is of a very vigorous and healthy conſtitution, His character.

1709. takes a pleaſure in enduring the greateſt fatigues, and is little curious about his repoſe: His chief and almoſt only exerciſe has been riding, in which he has been extremely exceſſive: He uſually eats with a good appetite, eſpecially in the morning, which is the beſt of his three meals: He never drinks any thing but ſmall beer, and is not much concerned whether it be good or bad: He ſpeaks little, is very thoughtful, and is obſerved to mind nothing ſo much as his own affairs, laying his deſigns, and contriving the ways of acting, without communicating them to any, till they are to be put in execution: He holds few or no councils of war; and though in civil affairs his miniſters have leave to explain their thoughts, and are heard very patiently; yet he relies more on his own judgment, than on theirs, and frequently falls on ſuch methods, as are fartheſt from their thoughts: So that, both his Miniſters and Generals have hitherto had the glory of obedience, without either the praiſe or blame of having adviſed prudently or otherwiſe. The reaſon of his reſervedneſs in conſulting others may be thus accounted for; he came, at the age of fifteen, to ſucceed, in an abſolute monarchy, and by the forward zeal of the ſtates of the kingdom, was in a few months declared to be of age: There were thoſe about him, that magnified his underſtanding, as much as his authority, and inſinuated that he neither needed advice, nor could ſubmit his affairs to the deliberation of others, without ſome diminution of his own ſupreme power. Theſe impreſſions had not all their effect, till after the war was begun, in the courſe of which, he ſurmounted ſo many impoſſibilities (as thoſe about him thought them) that he came to have leſs value for their judgments, and more for his own, and at laſt to think nothing impoſſible. So it may be truly ſaid, that under God, as well all his glorious ſucceſſes, as the late fatal reverſe of them, have been owing ſolely to his own conduct.

As

As to his piety, it cannot be ſaid but that the outward appearances have highly recommended it, only it is not very eaſy to account for the exceſs of his revenge againſt King Auguſtus, and ſome other inſtances; but he is not ſuſpected of any bodily indulgences. It is moſt certain he has all along wiſhed well to the allies, and not at all to France, which he never intended to ſerve by any ſteps he has made. We hear the Turks uſe him well, but time muſt ſhew what uſe they will make of him, and how he will get back into his own kingdom. If this misfortune does not quite ruin him, it may temper his fire, and then he may become one of the greateſt Princes of the age. Thus I leave him and his character. 1709.

Affairs in Denmark.

The King of Denmark ſpent a great part of this ſummer in a very expenſive courſe of travelling, through the Courts of Germany and Italy, and it was believed he intended to go to Rome, where great preparations were making, for giving him a ſplendid reception; for it was given out, that he intended to change his Religion: But whether theſe reports were altogether groundleſs, or whether their being ſo commonly believed, was like to produce ſome diſorders in his own kingdom, is not certainly known; only thus much is certain, that he ſtopt at Florence, and went no further, but returned home; and upon the King of Sweden's misfortunes, entered into meaſures to attack Sweden, with King Auguſtus; who had called a diet in Poland, in which he was acknowledged their King, and all things were ſettled there, according to his wiſhes. The King of Denmark, upon his return home, ſent an army over the Sound into Schonen; but his counſels were ſo weak, and ſo ill conducted, that he did not ſend a train of artillery, with other neceſſaries, after them: Some places, that were not tenable, were yielded up by the Swedes, and by the progreſs, that he made at firſt, he ſeemed to be in a fair way of re-

1709. covering that province; but the Swedes brought an army together, though far inferior to the Danes in number, and falling on them, gave them such an entire defeat, that the King of Denmark was forced to bring back, as well as he could, the broken remnants of his army, by which an end was put to that inglorious expedition.

The Swedish army, that was in Poland, having got into Pomerania, the French studied to engage them to fall into Saxony, to embroil the affairs of Germany, and by that means engage the neighbouring Princes, to recall the troops that were in the Queen's service, and that of the other allies in Flanders; but the Queen and the States interposed effectually in this matter, and the Swedes were so sensible, how much they might need their protection, that they acquiesced in the propositions, that were made to them; so the peace of the northern parts of the empire was secured. A peace was likewise made up, between the Grand Seignior and the Czar: The King of Sweden continued still at Bender; the war in Hungary went still on. The Court of Vienna published ample relations of the great successes they had there; but an Hungarian assured me, these were given out, to make the malecontents seem an inconsiderable and ruined party. There were secret negotiations still going on, but without effect.

Our fleet well conducted.

Nothing of importance pass'd on the sea: The French put out no fleet, and our convoys were so well ordered, and so happy, that our merchants made no complaints: Towards the end of the year the Earl of Pembroke found the care of the fleet a load too heavy for him to bear, and that he could not discharge it, as it ought to be done; so he desired leave to lay it down. It was offered to the Earl of Orford; but though he was willing to serve at the head of a commission, he refused to accept of it singly; so it was put in commission, in which he was the first.

I now come to give an account of the seſſion of Parliament, that came on this winter. All the ſupplies, that were aſked, for carrying on the war, were granted, and put on good funds; in this there was a general unanimous concurrence: But the great buſineſs of this ſeſſion, that took up moſt of their time, and that had great effects in concluſion, related to Dr. Sacheverel: This being one of the moſt extraordinary tranſactions in my time, I will relate it very copiouſly. Dr. Sacheverel was a bold inſolent man, with a very ſmall meaſure of religion, virtue, learning, or good ſenſe, but he reſolved to force himſelf into popularity and preferment, by the moſt petulant railings at diſſenters, and low-church-men, in ſeveral ſermons and libels, wrote without either chaſtneſs of ſtile, or livelineſs of expreſſion: All was one unpractiſed ſtrain of indecent and ſcurrilous language. When he had purſued this method for ſeveral years without effect, he was at laſt brought up by a popular election to a church in Southwark, where he began to make great reflections on the Miniſtry, repreſenting that the church was in danger, being neglected by thoſe who governed, while they favoured her moſt inveterate enemies. At the aſſizes in Derby (where he preached before the Judges) and on the fifth of November (preaching at St. Paul's in London) he gave a full vent to his fury, in the moſt virulent declamation, that he could contrive, upon theſe words of St. Paul's, "perils from falſe brethren;" in which, after ſome ſhort reflections upon popery, he let himſelf looſe into ſuch indecencies, that both the man and the ſermon were univerſally condemned: He aſſerted the doctrine of non-reſiſtance in the higheſt ſtrain poſſible, and ſaid, that to charge the revolution with reſiſtance, was to caſt black and odious imputations on it; pretending, that the late King had diſowned it, and cited for the proof of that, ſome words in his declaration, by which he vindicated himſelf from a deſign of conqueſt. He poured out much ſcorn and

1709. A ſeſſion of Parliament.

Sacheverel's ſermon.

1709. ſcurrility on the diſſenters, and reflected ſeverely on the toleration; and ſaid the church was violently attacked by her enemies, and looſely defended by her pretended friends: He animated the people, to ſtand up for the defence of the church, for which he ſaid he ſounded the trumpet, and deſired them to put on the whole armour of God. The court of aldermen refuſed to deſire him to print his ſermon; but he did print it, pretending it was upon the deſire of Garrard, then Lord Mayor, to whom he dedicated it, with an inflaming epiſtle at the head of it. The party, that oppoſed the Miniſtry, did ſo magnify the ſermon, that, as was generally reckoned, about 40000 of them were printed, and diſperſed over the nation. The Queen ſeemed highly offended at it, and the Miniſtry looked on it as an attack made on them, that was not to be deſpiſed. The Lord Treaſurer was ſo deſcribed, that it was next to the naming him, ſo a parliamentary impeachment was reſolved on; Eyre, then Sollicitor General, and others thought the ſhort way of burning the ſermon, and keeping him in priſon during the ſeſſion, was the better method; but the more ſolemn way was unhappily choſen.

Many books wrote againſt the Queen's title.

There had been, ever ſince the Queen came to the crown, an open revival of the doctrine of paſſive-obedience and non-reſiſtance, by one Leſley, who was the firſt man that began the war in Ireland; ſaying, in a ſpeech ſolemnly made, that King James, by declaring himſelf a papiſt, could no longer be our King, ſince he could not be the defender of our faith, nor the head of our church, dignities ſo inherent in the crown, that he, who was incapable of theſe, could not hold it: A copy of which ſpeech, the preſent Archbiſhop of Dublin told me he had, under his own hand. As he animated the people with his ſpeech, ſo ſome actions followed under his conduct, in which, ſeveral men were killed; yet this man changed ſides quickly, and became the violenteſt Jacobite in the nation, and was engaged

gaged in many plots, and in writing many books againſt the revolution, and the preſent government. Soon after the Queen was on the throne, he, or his ſon as ſome ſaid, publiſhed a ſeries of weekly papers under the title of the Rehearſal, purſuing a thread of arguments in them all, againſt the lawfulneſs of reſiſtance, in any caſe whatſoever; deriving government wholly from God, denying all right in the people, either to confer, or to coerce it: The Miniſters connived at this, with what intention God knows. 1709.

Whilſt theſe ſeditious papers had a free courſe for many years, and were much ſpread and magnified; one Hoadly, a pious and judicious divine, being called to preach before the Lord Mayor, choſe for his text the firſt verſes of the 13th chapter to the Romans, and fairly explained the words there, that they were to be underſtood only againſt reſiſting good Governors, upon the Jewiſh principles; but, that thoſe words had no relation to bad and cruel Governors: and he aſſerted, that it was not only lawful, but a duty incumbent on all men, to reſiſt ſuch; concluding all, with a vindication of the revolution, and the preſent government. Upon this, a great outcry was raiſed, as if he had preached up rebellion; ſeveral books were wrote againſt him, and he juſtified himſelf, with a viſible ſuperiority of argument, to them all, and did ſo ſolidly overthrow the conceit of one Filmer, now eſpouſed by Leſley (that government was derived by primogeniture from the firſt Patriarchs) that for ſome time, he ſilenced his adverſaries: but it was an eaſier thing to keep up a clamour, than to write a ſolid anſwer. Sacheverel did, with great virulence, reflect on him, and on me, and ſeveral other Biſhops, carrying his venom as far back as to Archbiſhop Grindal, whom, for his moderation, he called a perfidious Prelate, and a falſe ſon of the church. When it was moved to impeach him, the Lord Mayor of London, be- 1710. Dr. Hoadly's writings in defence thereof.

1710. ing a member of the Houſe of Commons, was examined to this point, whether the ſermon was printed at his deſire or order; upon his owning it, he would have been expelled the Houſe; but he denied he had given any ſuch order, though Sacheverel affirmed it, and brought witneſſes to prove it: Yet the Houſe would not enter upon that examination; but it was thought more decent to ſeem to give credit to their own member, though indeed few believed him.

Sacheverel was impeached by the Houſe of Commons.

Some oppoſition was made to the motion, for impeaching Sacheverel, but it was carried by a great majority: The proceedings were ſlow; ſo thoſe, who intended to inflame the city, and the nation upon that occaſion, had time ſufficient given them, for laying their deſigns: They gave it out boldly, and in all places, that a deſign was formed by the whigs, to pull down the church, and that this proſecution was only ſet on foot to try their ſtrength; and that, upon their ſucceſs in it, they would proceed more openly. Though this was all falſhood and forgery, yet it was propagated with ſo much application and zeal, and the tools imployed in it, were ſo well ſupplied with money (from whom was not then known) that it is ſcarce credible how generally it was believed.

Some things concurred to put the vulgar in ill humour; it was a time of dearth and ſcarcity, ſo that the poor were much pinched: The ſummer before, ten or twelve thouſand poor people of the Palatinate, who were reduced to great miſery, came into England; they were well received and ſupplied, both by the Queen, and by the voluntary charities of good people: This filled our own poor with great indignation; who thought thoſe charities, to which they had a better right, were thus intercepted by ſtrangers; and all who were ill affected, ſtudied to heighten theſe their reſentments. The clergy did generally eſpouſe Sacheverel, as their champion, who had ſtood in the breach; and ſo they reckoned

his

his cauſe was their own. Many ſermons were preached, both in London and in other places, to provoke the people, in which they ſucceeded beyond expectation. Some accidents concurred to delay the proceedings; much time was ſpent in preparing the articles of impeachment: And the anſwer was, by many ſhifts, long delayed: It was bold, without either ſubmiſſion or common reſpect; he juſtified every thing in his ſermon, in a very haughty and aſſuming ſtile. In concluſion, the Lords ordered the trial to be at the bar of their Houſe; but thoſe who found, that by gaining more time, the people were ſtill more inflamed, moved that the trial might be publick in Weſtminſter Hall; where the whole Houſe of Commons might be preſent: This took ſo with unthinking people, that it could not be withſtood, though the effects it would have, were well foreſeen: The preparing Weſtminſter Hall was a work of ſome weeks. 1710.

At laſt, on the 27th of February, the trial begun. Sacheverel was lodged in the Temple, and came every day with great ſolemnity, in a coach to the Hall; great crouds ran about his coach with many ſhouts, expreſſing their concern for him, in a very rude and tumultuous manner. The trial laſted three weeks, in which all other buſineſs was at a ſtand; for this took up all mens thoughts: The managers for the Commons opened the matter very ſolemnly: Their performances were much and juſtly commended: Jekyll, Eyre, Stanhope, King, but above all Parker, diſtinguiſhed themſelves in a very particular manner: They did copiouſly juſtify both the revolution, and the preſent adminiſtration. There was no need of witneſſes: for the ſermon being owned by him, all the evidence was brought from it, by laying his words together, and by ſhewing his intent and meaning in them, which appeared from comparing one place with another. When his Council, Sir Simon Harcourt, Dodd, Phipps, and two others, came

And tried in Weſtminſter Hall.

1710. came to plead for him, they very freely acknowledged the lawfulneſs of reſiſtance in extreme caſes, and plainly juſtified the revolution, and our deliverance by King William: But they ſaid, it was not fit, in a ſermon, to name ſuch an exception; that the duties of morality ought to be delivered in their full extent, without ſuppoſing an extraordinary caſe: And therefore Sacheverel had followed precedents, ſet by our greateſt divines, ever ſince the reformation, and ever ſince the revolution. Upon this, they opened a great field; they began with the declarations made in King Henry the VIII's time; they inſiſted next, upon the Homilies, and from thence inſtanced in a large ſeries of Biſhops and divines, who had preached the duty of ſubmiſſion and non-reſiſtance, in very full terms, without ſuppoſing any exception; ſome excluding all exceptions, in as poſitive a manner, as he had done: They explained the word Revolution, as belonging to the new ſettlement upon King James's withdrawing; though, in the common acceptation, it was underſtood of the whole tranſaction, from the landing of the Dutch army, till the ſettlement made by the convention. So they underſtanding the revolution in that ſenſe, there was indeed no reſiſtance there: If the paſſage, quoted from the declaration, given out by the late King, while he was Prince of Orange, did not come up to that, for which he quoted it; he ought not to be cenſured becauſe his quotation did not fully prove his point. As for his invective againſt the diſſenters and the toleration, they laboured to turn that off, by ſaying, he did not reflect on what was allowed by law, but on the permiſſion of, or the not puniſhing many, who publiſhed impious and blaſphemous books: And a collection was made, of paſſages in books, full of crude impiety and of bold opinions. This gave great offence to many, who thought that this was a ſolemn publiſhing of ſo much impiety to the nation, by which more miſchief would be done, than by the books

books themſelves; for moſt of them had been neglected, and known only to a ſmall number, of thoſe who encouraged them: And the authors, of many of theſe books, had been proſecuted and puniſhed for them. As to thoſe parts of the ſermon, that ſet out the danger the church was in, though both Houſes had ſome years ago voted it a great offence, to ſay it was in danger, they ſaid it might have been in none four years ago, when theſe votes paſſed, and yet be now in danger: The greateſt of all dangers was to be apprehended, from the wrath of God for ſuch impieties. They ſaid, the reflections on the adminiſtration were not meant of thoſe, imployed immediately by the Queen, but of men in inferior poſts: If his words ſeemed capable of a bad ſenſe, they were alſo capable of a more innocent one; and every man was allowed to put any conſtruction on his words, that they could bear. When the counſel had ended their defence, Sacheverel concluded it with a ſpeech, which he read with much bold heat; in which, with many ſolemn aſſeverations, he juſtified his intentions towards the Queen and her government; he ſpoke with reſpect, both of the revolution and the proteſtant ſucceſſion; he inſiſted moſt on condemning all reſiſtance, under any pretence whatſoever, without mentioning the exception of extreme neceſſity, as his counſel had done: he ſaid, it was the doctrine of the church, in which he was bred up; and added many pathetical expreſſions, to move the audience to compaſſion. This had a great effect on the weaker ſort, while it poſſeſſed thoſe, who knew the man and his ordinary diſcourſes, with horror, when they heard him affirm ſo many falſhoods, with ſuch ſolemn appeals to God. It was very plain the ſpeech was made for him by others; for the ſtile was correct, and far different from his own. 1710.

During the trial, the multitudes that followed him, all the way as he came, and as he went back, ſhewed a great concern for him, preſſing about him, A great diſorder at that time.

1710. him, and ſtriving to kiſs his hand: Money was thrown among them; and they were animated to ſuch a pitch of fury, that they went to pull down ſome meeting-houſes, which was executed on five of them, as far as burning all the pews in them. This was directed by ſome of better faſhion, who followed the mob in hackney coaches, and were ſeen ſending meſſages to them: The word, upon which all ſhouted, was the Church and Sacheverel: And ſuch, as joined not in the ſhout, were inſulted and knocked down: Before my own door, one, with a ſpade, cleft the ſkull of another, who would not ſhout as they did. There happened to be a meeting-houſe near me, out of which they drew every thing that was in it, and burned it before the door of the houſe. They threatened to do the like execution on my houſe; but the noiſe of the riot coming to court, orders were ſent to the guards to go about, and diſperſe the multitudes, and ſecure the publick peace. As the guards advanced, the people ran away; ſome few were only taken; theſe were afterwards proſecuted; but the party ſhewed a violent concern for them; two of them were condemned as guilty of high treaſon; ſmall fines were ſet on the reſt; but no execution followed; and after ſome months, they were pardoned: And indeed this remiſſneſs, in puniſhing ſo great a diſorder, was looked on as the preparing and encouraging men to new tumults. There was a ſecret management in this matter, that amazed all people: For though the Queen, upon an addreſs made to her by the Houſe of Commons, ſet out a proclamation, in which this riot was, with ſevere words, laid upon Papiſts and Nonjurors, who were certainly the chief promoters of it; yet the proceedings afterwards did not anſwer the threatnings of the proclamation.

Continuation of the trial. When Sacheverel had ended his defence, the managers for the Houſe of Commons replied, and ſhewed very evidently, that the words of his ſermon

mon could not reasonably bear any other sense, but that for which they had charged him; this was an easy performance, and they managed it with great life: But the humour of the town was turned against them, and all the clergy appeared for Sacheverel. Many of the Queen's chaplains stood about him, encouraging and magnifying him; and it was given out, that the Queen herself favoured him: Though, upon my first coming to town, which was after the impeachment was brought up to the Lords, she said to me, that it was a bad sermon, and that he deserved well to be punished for it. All her Ministers, who were in the House of Commons, were named to be managers, and they spoke very zealously for publick liberty, justifying the revolution. Holt, the Lord Chief Justice of the King's-Bench, died during the trial: He was very learned in the law, and had upon great occasions shewed an intrepid zeal in asserting its authority; for he ventured on the indignation of both Houses of Parliament by turns, when he thought the law was with him: He was a man of good judgment and great integrity, and set himself with great application to the functions of that important post. Immediately upon his death, Parker was made Lord Chief Justice: This great promotion seemed an evident demonstration of the Queen's approving the prosecution; for none of the managers had treated Sacheverel so severely as he had done; yet secret whispers were very confidently set about, that though the Queen's affairs put her on acting the part of one, that was pleased with this scene, yet she disliked it all, and would take the first occasion to shew it.

1710.

Sir John Holt's death and character.

Parker made Ld Chief Justice.

After the trial was ended, the debate was taken up in the House of Lords: It stuck long on the first article; none pretended to justify the sermon, or to assert absolute non-resistance: All who favoured him, went upon this, that the duty of obedience

Debates in the House of Lords after the trial.

1710. dience ought to be delivered in full and general words, without putting in exceptions, or ſuppoſing odious caſes: This had been the method of all our divines. Pains were alſo taken to ſhew, that his ſermon did not reflect on the revolution: On the other hand, it was ſaid, that ſince the revolution had happened ſo lately, and was made ſtill the ſubject of much controverſy, thoſe abſolute expreſſions did plainly condemn it. The revolution was the whole progreſs of the turn, from the Prince of Orange's landing, till the act of ſettlement paſſed. The act of Parliament expreſſed, what was meant, by the abdication and the vacancy of the Throne; that it did not only relate to King James's withdrawing himſelf, but to his ceaſing to govern according to our conſtitution and laws, ſetting up his meer will and pleaſure, as the meaſure of his government: This was made plainer, by another clauſe in the acts then paſſed, which provided, that if any of our Princes ſhould become Papiſts, or marry Papiſts, the ſubjects were, in thoſe caſes, declared to be free from their allegiance. Some of the Biſhops ſpoke in this debate on each ſide; Hooper, Biſhop of Bath and Wells, ſpoke in excuſe of Sacheverel: But Talbot, Biſhop of Oxford; Wake, Biſhop of Lincoln; Trimnel, Biſhop of Norwich, and myſelf, ſpoke on the other ſide. We ſhewed the falſhood of an opinion too commonly received, that the church of England had always condemned reſiſtance, even in the caſes of extreme tyranny: The books of the Maccabees, bound in our Bibles, and approved by our articles, (as containing examples of life and inſtruction of manners, though not as any part of the canon of the ſcripture) contained a full and clear precedent for reſiſting and ſhaking off extreme tyranny: The Jews, under that brave family, not only defended themſelves againſt Antiochus, but formed themſelves into a free and new government. Our Homilies were only againſt wilful rebellion, ſuch as had been then againſt our Kings,

Kings, while they were governing by law: But at that very time, Queen Elizabeth had aſſiſted, firſt the Scotch, and then the French, and to the end of her days continued to protect the States, who not only reſiſted, but, as the Maccabees had done, ſhook off the Spaniſh yoke, and ſet up a new form of government: In all this ſhe was not only juſtified by the beſt writers of that time, ſuch as Jewel and Bilſon, but was approved and ſupported in it: Both her Parliaments and Convocations gave her ſubſidies, to carry on thoſe wars. The ſame principles were kept up all King James reign: In the beginning of King Charles's reign, he protected the Rochellers, and aſked ſupplies from the Parliament, to enable him to do it effectually; and ordered a faſt and prayers to be made for them. It is true, ſoon after that, new notions of abſolute power, derived from God to Kings, were taken up; at the firſt riſe given to theſe by Manwaring, they were condemned by a ſentence of the Lords; and though he ſubmitted, and retracted his opinion, yet a ſevere cenſure paſſed upon him: But during the long diſcontinuance of Parliaments that followed, this doctrine was more favoured; it was generally preached up, and many things were done purſuant to it, which put the nation into the great convulſions, that followed in our civil wars. After theſe were over, it was natural to return to the other extreme, as courts naturally favour ſuch doctrines. King James truſted too much to it; yet the very aſſertors of that doctrine were the firſt, who pleaded for reſiſtance, when they thought they needed it. Here was matter for a long debate: It was carried by a majority of ſeventeen, that the firſt article was proved. The party, that was for Sacheverel, made no oppoſition to the votes upon the following articles; but contented themſelves, with proteſting againſt them: The Lords went down to the hall, where the queſtion being put upon the whole impeach- 1710.

1710. impeachment, guilty or not guilty, fifty-two voted him not guilty, and sixty-nine voted him guilty.

He is censured very gently.

The next debate was, what censure ought to pass upon him: And here a strange turn appeared; some seemed to apprehend the effects of a popular fury, if the censure was severe; to others it was said, that the Queen desired it might be mild; so it was proposed to suspend him from preaching for one year; others were for six years; but by a vote it was fixed to three years. It was next moved, that he should be incapable of all preferment for those three years; upon that, the House was divided, fifty-nine were for the vote, and sixty-were against it; so that being laid aside, the sermon was ordered to be burnt, in the presence of the Lord Mayor, and the Sheriffs of London, and this was done; only the Lord Mayor, being a member of the House of Commons, did not think he was bound to be present. The Lords also voted, that the decrees of the university of Oxford, passed in 1683, in which the absolute authority of Princes, and the unalterableness of the hereditary right of succeeding to the Crown, were asserted in a very high strain, should be burnt with Sacheverel's sermon: The House of Commons likewise ordered the impious collection of blasphemous expressions, that Sacheverel had printed as his justification, to be also burnt.

When this mild judgment was given, those, who had supported him during the trial, expressed an inconceivable gladness, as if they had got a victory; bonfires, illuminations, and other marks of joy appeared, not only in London, but over the whole kingdom.

Addresses against the Parliament.

This had yet greater effects; addresses were set on foot, from all the parts of the nation, in which the absolute power of our Princes was asserted, and all resistance was condemned, under the designation of antimonarchical and republican principles; the Queen's hereditary right was acknowledged, and yet a zeal for the protestant succession was likewise

wiſe pretended, to make thoſe addreſſes paſs the more eaſily, with unthinking multitudes: Moſt of theſe concluded, with an intimation of their hopes, that the Queen would diſſolve the preſent Parliament, giving aſſurances, that in a new election, they would chooſe none, but ſuch as ſhould be faithful to the Crown, and zealous for the Church: Theſe were at firſt more coldly received; for the Queen either made no anſwer at all, or made them in very general words. Addreſſes were brought upon the other hand, magnifying the conduct of the Parliament, and expreſſing a zeal for maintaining the Revolution and the Proteſtant ſucceſſion. 1710.

The Queen's ſpeech.

In the beginning of April the Parliament was prorogued, and the Queen, in her ſpeech thereupon, expreſſed her concern, that there was cauſe given for that, which had taken up ſo much of their time, wiſhing that all her people would be quiet, and mind their own buſineſs; adding, that in all times there was too much occaſion given to complain of impiety, but that ſhe would continue that zeal, which ſhe had hitherto expreſſed for religion, and for the church: This ſeemed to look a different way from the whiſpers that had been ſet about. Soon after that, ſhe made a ſtep that revived them again: The Duke of Shrewſbury had gone out of England in the end of the former reign, thinking, as he gave out, that a warmer climate was neceſſary for his health: He ſtaid ſeveral years at Rome, where he became acquainted with a Roman lady: And ſhe, upon his leaving Rome to return to England, went after him to Augſbourg, where ſhe overtook him, and declared herſelf a Proteſtant; upon which he married her there, and came with her back to England, in the year 1706. Upon his return, the whigs lived in civilities with him; but they thought his leaving England, and his living ſo long out of it, while we were in ſo much danger at home, and his ſtrange marriage,

Duke of Shrewſbury made Ld Chamberlain.

1710. gave juſt cauſe of ſuſpicion. The Duke of Marlborough, and the Lord Godolphin, lived ſtill in friendſhips with him, and ſtudied to overcome the jealouſies, that the whigs had of him; for they generally believed, that he had adviſed the late King to the change he made in his Miniſtry, towards the end of his reign. He ſeemed not to be concerned at the diſtance, in which he was kept from buſineſs, but in the late trial, he left the whigs in every vote; and a few days after the Parliament was prorogued, the Queen, without communicating the matter to any of her Miniſters, took the Chamberlain's white ſtaff from the Marquis of Kent, (whom, in recompence for that, ſhe advanced to be a Duke) and gave it to the Duke of Shrewſbury. This gave a great alarm; for it was upon that concluded, that a total change of the Miniſtry would quickly follow; the change of principles, that he had diſcovered in the trial, was imputed to a ſecret management between him and Harley, with the new favourite. The Queen's inclination to her, and her alienation from the Dutcheſs of Marlborough, did increaſe, and broke out in many little things, not worth naming: Upon that, the Dutcheſs retired from the Court, and appeared no more at it. The Duke of Shrewſbury gave the Miniſters very poſitive aſſurances, that his principles were the ſame they had been during the laſt reign, and were in no reſpect altered: Upon which, he deſired to enter into confidences with them; but there was now too much ground given for ſuſpicion.

The Queen was ſpoke to with great freedom.

During this winter, I was encouraged by the Queen, to ſpeak more freely to her of her affairs, than I had ever ventured to do formerly; I told her what reports were ſecretly ſpread of her, thro' the nation, as if ſhe favoured the deſign of bringing the Pretender, to ſucceed to the Crown, upon a bargain that ſhe ſhould hold it during her life: I was ſure theſe reports were ſpread about by perſons, who

who were in the confidence of thoſe, that were believed to know her mind; I was well aſſured, that the Jacobites of Scotland had, upon her coming to the Crown, ſent up one Ogilby of Boyne, who was in great eſteem among them, to propoſe the bargain to her; he, when he went back, gave the party full aſſurances that ſhe accepted of it: This I had from ſome of the Lords of Scotland, who were then in the ſecret with the profeſſed Jacobites. The Earl of Cromarty made a ſpeech in Parliament, as was formerly mentioned, contradicting this, and alluding to the diſtinction of the Calviniſts, made between the ſecret and the revealed will of God; he aſſured them, the Queen had no ſecret will, contrary to that which ſhe declared: Yet at the ſame time his brother gave the party aſſurances to the contrary. I told the Queen all this; and ſaid, if ſhe was capable of making ſuch a bargain for herſelf, by which her people were to be delivered up, and ſacrificed after her death, as it would darken all the glory of her reign, ſo it muſt ſet all her people to conſider of the moſt proper ways of ſecuring themſelves, by bringing over the Proteſtant ſucceſſors; in which, I told her plainly I would concur, if ſhe did not take effectual means to extinguiſh thoſe jealouſies. I told her, her Miniſters had ſerved her with that fidelity, and ſuch ſucceſs, that her making a change among them would amaze all the world. The glory of Queen Elizabeth's reign aroſe from the firmneſs of her counſels, and the continuance of her Miniſters, as the three laſt reigns, in which the Miniſtry was often changed, had ſuffered extremely by it. I alſo ſhewed her, that if ſhe ſuffered the Pretender's party to prepare the nation, for his ſucceeding her, ſhe ought not to imagine, that when they thought they had fixed that matter, they would ſtay for the natural end of her life; but that they would find ways to ſhorten it: Nor did I think it was to be doubted, but that in 1708, when the Pretender was upon the ſea, 1710.

1710. they had laid ſome aſſaſſinates here, who, upon the news of his landing, would have tried to diſpatch her. It was certain, that their intereſt led them to it, as it was known that their principles did allow of it. This, with a great deal more to the ſame purpoſe, I laid before the Queen; ſhe heard me patiently; ſhe was for the moſt part ſilent: Yet, by what ſhe ſaid, ſhe ſeemed deſirous to make me think, ſhe agreed to what I laid before her; but I found afterwards it had no effect upon her: Yet I had great quiet in my own mind, ſince I had, with an honeſt freedom, made the beſt uſe I could have of the acceſs I had to her.

The Duke of Marlborough went beyond ſea in February, to prepare all matters for an early campaign, deſigning to open it in April, which was done: The French had wrought ſo long upon their lines, that it was thought, they would have taken as much care in maintaining them; but upon the advance of our army, they abandoned them. And though they ſeemed reſolved to make a ſtand upon the Scarp, yet they ran from that likewiſe; and this opened the way all on to Doway: So that was inveſted. The garriſon was 8000 ſtrong, well furniſhed with every thing neceſſary to make a brave defence; the beſieged ſallied out often, ſometimes with advantage, but much oftener with loſs; it was the middle of May before the French could bring their army together; it appeared, that they reſolved to ſtand upon the defenſive, though they had brought up together a vaſt army of two hundred battalions, and three hundred ſquadrons: They lay before Arras, and advanced to the plains of Lens; Villars commanded, and made ſuch ſpeeches to his army, that it was generally believed, he would venture on a battle, rather than look on and ſee Doway loſt. The Duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene poſted their army ſo advantageouſly, both to cover the ſiege, and to receive the enemy, that he durſt not attack them; but

Doway beſieged and taken.

after

after he had looked on a few days, in which the two armies were not above a league distant, he drew off: So the siege going on, and no relief appearing, both Doway and the Fort Escarp capitulated on the 14th of June. 1710.

The history continued to the peace.

I have now compleated my first design in writing, which was to give a history of our affairs for fifty years, from the 29th of May 1660: So if I confined myself to that, I should here give over: But the war seeming now to be near an end, and the peace, in which it must end, being that which will probably give a new settlement to all Europe, as well as to our affairs, I resolve to carry on this work to the conclusion of the war. And therefore I begin with the progress of the negotiations for peace, which seemed now to be prosecuted with warmth.

Negotiations for a Peace.

All the former winter, an intercourse of letters was kept up between Pettecum and Torcy, to try if an expedient could be found, to soften that article, for the reduction of Spain, to the obedience of King Charles; which was the thirty-seventh article of the preliminaries: It still was kept in agitation upon the foot of offering three towns, to be put into the hands of the allies, to be restored by them, when the affairs of Spain should be settled; otherwise to be still retained by them. The meaning of which was no other, than that France was willing to lose three more towns, in case King Philip should keep Spain and the West-Indies: The places therefore ought to have born some equality to that, for which they were to be given in pawn; but the answers the French made to every proposition, shewed they meant nothing but to amuse and distract the allies. The first demand the allies made, was of the places in Spain, then in the hands of the King of France; for the delivering up these, might have been a good step to the reduction of the whole: But this was flatly refused; and, that

1710. the King of France might put it out of his power to treat about it, he ordered his troops to be drawn out of all the ſtrong places in Spain, and ſoon after out of that kingdom, pretending he was thereby evacuating it; though the French forces were kept ſtill in the neighbourhood: So a ſhew was made of leaving Spain to defend itſelf. And upon that, King Philip prevailed on the Spaniards, to make great efforts, beyond what was ever expected of them. This was done by the French King, to deceive both the allies and his own ſubjects, who were calling loudly for a peace: And it likewiſe eaſed him of a great part of the charge, that Spain had put him to. But while his troops were called out of that kingdom, as many deſerted, by a viſible connivance, as made up ſeveral battalions: And all the Walloon regiments, as being ſubjects of Spain, were ſent thither: So that King Philip was not weakened by the recalling the French troops; and by this means, the places in Spain could not be any more demanded. The next, as moſt important towards the reduction of Spain, was the demand that Bayonne and Perpignan might be put into the hands of the allies, with Thionville on the ſide of the empire. By the two former, all communication between France and Spain would be cut off, and the allies would be enabled to ſend forces thither, with leſs expence and trouble: But it was ſaid, theſe were the keys of France, which the King could not part with; ſo it remained to treat of towns on the frontier of the Netherlands; and even there they excepted Doway, Arras, and Cambray: ſo that all their offers appeared illuſory; and the intercourſe by letters was for ſome time let fall. But in the end of the former year, Torcy wrote to Pettecum, to deſire, either that paſſes might be granted to ſome Miniſters to come to Holland, to go on with the negotiation, or that Pettecum might be ſuffered to go to Paris, to ſee if an expedient could be found:

and the States conſented to the laſt. In the mean while, King Philip publiſhed a Manifeſto, proteſting againſt all that ſhould be tranſacted at the Hague, to his prejudice; declaring his reſolution to adhere to his faithful Spaniards: He alſo named Plenipotentiaries, to go in his name to the treaty, who gave the States notice of their powers and inſtructions; and, in a letter to the Duke of Marlborough, they gave intimations, how grateful King Philip would be to him, if by his means theſe his deſires might be complied with; as the like inſinuations had been often made by the French agents: But no notice was taken of this meſſage from King Philip, nor was any anſwer given to it. Pettecum, after ſome days ſtay at Paris, came back without the pretence of offering any expedient, but brought a paper, that ſeemed to ſet aſide the preliminaries: yet it ſet forth, that the King was willing to treat on the foundation of the conceſſions made in them to the allies; and that the execution of all the articles ſhould begin after the ratification. This deſtroyed all that had been hitherto done; and the diſtinction, the King had formerly made, between the ſpirit and the letter of the partition treaty, ſhewed how little he was to be relied on: So the States reſolved to inſiſt, both on the preliminaries, and on the execution of them, before a general treaty ſhould be opened. By this meſſage, all thoughts of a treaty were at a full ſtand. In the beginning of February another project was ſent, which was an amplification of that, brought by Pettecum; only the reſtoring the two Electors was inſiſted on as a preliminary, as alſo the reſtoring the upper Palatinate to the Elector of Bavaria; but the allies ſtill inſiſted on the former preliminaries. The Court of France ſeeing, that the States were not to be wrought on, to go off from the preliminaries, ſent another meſſage to them, that the King agreed to all the preliminaries, except the thirty-ſeventh; and if they would con- 1710.

1710. ſent, that his Miniſters ſhould come and confer with them upon that article, he did not doubt, but what ſhould be propoſed from him, would be to their ſatisfaction. This ſeemed to give ſome hopes, ſo the States reſolved to ſend the paſſports; but they foreſaw the ill effects, of ſuffering the French Miniſters to come into their country, who, by their agents, were every where ſtirring up the people againſt the government, as if they were prolonging the war without neceſſity; ſo they appointed Gertruydenburg to be the place, to which the French Miniſters were to come, to treat with the deputies they ſhould ſend to meet them.

Conferences at Gertruydenburg.

The Miniſters ſent by France, were the Marquis d'Uxelles and the abbot de Polignac; and thoſe from the States were Buys and Vanderduſſen: The conferences began in March. The French propoſed, that the dominions in Italy, with the iſlands, ſhould be given to one of the competitors for the Spaniſh Monarchy, without naming which; but it was underſtood, that they meant King Philip: The Deputies did not abſolutely reject this; but ſhewed, that the Emperor would never conſent to parting with Naples, nor giving the French ſuch footing in Italy; the French ſeemed to be ſenſible of this: The firſt conference ended, upon the return of the courier, whom they ſent to Verſailles. They moved for another conference; and upon ſeveral propoſitions, there were ſeveral conferences renewed. The King of France deſiſted from the demand of Naples, but inſiſted on that of the places on the coaſt of Tuſcany: At laſt they deſiſted from that too, and inſiſted only on Sicily and Sardinia: So now the partition ſeemed as it were ſettled. Upon which, the deputies of the States preſſed the Miniſters of France to give them ſolid aſſurances of King Philip's quitting Spain and the Weſt-Indies; to this (upon advertiſement given to the Court of France) they anſwered,

that the King would enter into measures with them to force it. Many difficulties were started, about the troops to be imployed, what their number should be, and who should command them; all which shewed the execution would prove impracticable. Then they talked of a sum of money, to be paid annually during the war; and here new difficulties arose, both in settling the sum, and in securing the payment: They offered the bankers of Paris; but these must all break, whensoever the King had a mind they should: So it plainly appeared, all was intended only to divide the allies, by this offer of a partition, to which the States consented; and at which, the French hoped the house of Austria would have been provoked against them. The French asked an assurance of the deputies, that no other articles should be insisted on, but those in the preliminaries; this the deputies positively refused; for they had, by one of the preliminaries, reserved a power to all the allies to make farther demands, when a general treaty should be opened; they said, they themselves would demand no more, but they could not limit the rest, from their just demands. This was another artifice, to provoke the Empire, and the Duke of Savoy, as if the States intended to force them to accept of such a peace, as they should prescribe: In another conference, the States rejected the offer of a sum of money, for carrying on the war in Spain, and therefore demanded, that the French would explain themselves upon the subject of evacuating Spain and the West-Indies, in favour of King Charles, before they could declare their intentions, with relation to the partition; and added, that all further conferences would be to no purpose, till that was done. 1710.

The French were now resolved to break off the negotiation; and so they were pleased to call this demand of the States, a formal rupture of the treaty; and upon the return of an express, that they

All came to no conclusion.

1710. they ſent to Verſailles, they wrote a long letter to the penſioner, in the form of a manifeſto; and ſo returned back to France, in the end of July. This is the account, that both our Miniſters here, and the States have publiſhed of that affair: The French have publiſhed nothing; for they would not own to the Spaniards, that they ever entered upon any treaty, for a partition of their Monarchy, much leſs for evacuating Spain. Whether France did ever deſign any thing, by all this negotiation, but to quiet their own people, and to amuſe and divide the allies, is yet to us a ſecret; but if they ever intended a peace, the reaſon of their going off from it, muſt have been the account they then had of our diſtractions in England; which might make them conclude, that we could not be in a condition to carry on the war.

A change of the Miniſtry in England.

The Queen's intentions to make a change in her Miniſtry now began to break out; in June ſhe diſmiſſed the Earl of Sunderland from being Secretary of State, without pretending any maleverſation in him, and gave the ſeals to the Lord Dartmouth. This gave the alarm, both at home and abroad; but the Queen, to leſſen that, ſaid to her ſubjects here, in particular to the governors of the Bank of England, and wrote to her Miniſters abroad, that they ſhould aſſure her allies, that ſhe would make no other changes; and ſaid this herſelf to the Miniſter, whom the States had here: All theſe concurred to expreſs their joy in this reſolution, and joined to it their advice, that ſhe would not diſſolve the Parliament. This was repreſented by thoſe, who had never been verſed in the negotiations of Princes in an alliance, as a bold intruding into the Queen's councils; though nothing is more common than for Princes to offer mutual advices, in ſuch caſes. Two months after the change of the Secretary of State, the Queen diſmiſſed the Earl of Godolphin, from being Lord Treaſurer, and put the treaſury in commiſſion;

Lord

Lord Powlet was the firſt in form, but Mr. Harley was the perſon, with whom the ſecret was lodged; and it was viſible, he was the chief Miniſter: and now it appeared, that a total change of the Miniſtry, and the diſſolution of the Parliament, were reſolved on. 1708.

In the mean while Sacheverel, being preſented to a benefice in North Wales, went down to take poſſeſſion of it; as he paſſed through the countries, both going and coming, he was received and followed by ſuch numbers, and entertained with ſuch magnificence, that our Princes in their progreſſes have not been more run after, than he was: Great fury and violence appeared, on many occaſions, though care was taken to give his followers no ſort of provocation; he was looked on as the champion of the church; and he ſhewed as much inſolence on that occaſion, as his party did folly. No notice was taken, by the government, of all theſe riots; they were rather favoured and encouraged than checked; all this was like a prelude to a greater ſcene, that was to be acted at court. The Queen came in October to Council, and called for a proclamation, diſſolving the Parliament, which Harcourt (now made Attorney-General in the room of Montague, who had quitted that poſt) had prepared: when it was read, the Lord Chancellor offered to ſpeak; but the Queen roſe up, and would admit of no debate, and ordered the writs for a new Parliament to be prepared. At that time ſhe diſmiſſed the Lord Somers, and in his room made the Earl of Rocheſter Lord Preſident of the Council: She ſent to the Duke of Devonſhire, for the Lord Steward's Staff, and gave it to the Duke of Buckingham; Mr. Boyle was diſmiſſed from being Secretary of State, and Mr. St. John had the ſeals: The Earl of Derby was removed from being Chancellor of the dutchy of Lancaſter, and was ſucceeded by the Lord Berkeley. The Lord Chancellor came, upon all theſe removes, and delivered up the Great Seal; Sacheverel's progreſs to Wales.

1710. Seal; the Queen did not look for this, and was ſurprized at it; and not knowing how to diſpoſe of it, ſhe, with an unuſual earneſtneſs, preſſed him to keep it one day longer; and the day following, ſhe having conſidered the matter with her favourites, Mrs. Maſham and Mr. Harley, received it very readily; and it was ſoon given to Sir Simon Harcourt. The Earl of Wharton delivered up his commiſſion of Lord Lieutenant of Ireland; and that was given to the Duke of Ormond: and the Earl of Orford, with ſome of the Commiſſioners of the Admiralty, withdrew from that board, in whoſe room others were put. So ſudden, and ſo entire a change of the Miniſtry, is ſcarce to be found in our hiſtory, eſpecially where men of great abilities had ſerved, both with zeal and ſucceſs, inſomuch, that the adminiſtration of all affairs, at home and abroad, in their hands, was not only without exception, but had raiſed the admiration of all Europe. All this roſe purely from the great credit of the new favourites, and the Queen's perſonal diſtaſte to the old ones. The Queen was much delighted with all theſe changes, and ſeemed to think ſhe was freed from the chains the old Miniſtry held her in: She ſpoke of it to ſeveral perſons as a captivity, ſhe had been long under. The Duke of Somerſet had very much alienated the Queen from the old Miniſtry, and had no ſmall ſhare in their diſgrace; but he was ſo diſpleaſed with the diſſolution of the Parliament, and the new model of the Miniſtry, that, though he continued ſome time Maſter of the Horſe, he refuſed to ſit any more in Council, and complained openly of the artifices, had been uſed, to make him inſtrumental to other people's deſigns, which he did among others to myſelf.

The elections of Parliament men.

The next, and indeed the greateſt care of the new Miniſtry was, the managing the elections to Parliament. Unheard-of methods were uſed to ſecure them; in London, and in all the parts of England, but more remarkably in the great cities, there was a vaſt

a vaſt concourſe of rude multitudes brought together, who behaved themſelves in ſo boiſterous a manner, that it was not ſafe, and in many places not poſſible, for thoſe who had a right to vote, to come and give their votes for a whig; open violence was uſed in ſeveral parts: this was ſo general, thro' the whole kingdom, all at the ſame time, that it was viſible the thing had been for ſome time concerted, and the proper methods and tools had been prepared for it. The clergy had a great ſhare in this; for beſides a courſe, for ſome months, of inflaming ſermons, they went about from houſe to houſe, preſſing their people to ſhew, on this great occaſion, their zeal for the church, and now or never to ſave it: They alſo told them, in what ill hands the Queen had been kept, as in captivity, and that it was a charity, as well as their duty, to free her from the power the late Miniſtry exerciſed over her. 1710.

While the poll was taken in London, a new commiſſion for the lieutenancy of the city was ſent in; by which a great change was made; tories were put in, and whigs were left out; in a word, the practice and violence uſed now in elections, went far beyond any thing, that I had ever known in England: And by ſuch means, above three parts in four of the Members returned to Parliament, may at any time be packed: And, if free elections are neceſſary to the being of a Parliament, there was great reaſon to doubt, if this was a true repreſentative duly elected.

A ſinking of credit.

The Bank was the body, to which the government of late had recourſe, and was always readily furniſhed by it; but their credit was now ſo ſunk, that they could not do as they had done formerly; actions, that ſome months before were at 130, ſunk now ſo low as to 95, and did not riſe above 101 or 102, all the following winter. The new Miniſters gave it out, that they would act moderately at home, and ſteadily abroad, maintain our alliances,

and

1710. and carry on the war. But before I enter on the seſſion of Parliament. I will give account of affairs abroad.

Affairs in Spain. King Philip went to Arragon to his army, and gave it out, that he was reſolved to put all to the deciſion of a battle with King Charles, who was likewiſe come to head his army; they lay ſo near one another, that King Philip cannonaded the camp of his enemies, but his men were beat off with loſs, and drew away to a greater diſtance; however, before the end of July, there was an action of great importance near Almanara: The main body of King Philip's horſe deſigned to cut off a part of King Charles's foot, that was ſeparated from the cavalry, commanded by Stanhope: He drew his whole body together; and though he was much inferior in number, yet he ſent to King Charles for orders, to engage the enemy. It was not without ſome difficulty, and after ſome re-iterated preſſing inſtances, that he got leave to fall on.

The battle of Almanara. As the two bodies were advancing one againſt another, Stanhope rode at the head of his body, and the Spaniſh General advanced at the head of his troops: The two Generals began the action; in which, very happily for Stanhope, he killed the Spaniard: And his men, animated with the example and ſucceſs of their General, fell on and broke the Spaniſh horſe ſo entirely, that King Philip loſt the beſt part of his cavalry in that action; upon which, he retired towards Saragoza; but was cloſely followed by King Charles: And on the 20th of Auguſt, they came to a total engagement, which ended in an entire defeat: And by this means Arragon was again in King Charles's hands. King Philip got off with a very ſmall body to Madrid, But he ſoon left it, and retired with all the tribunals following him to Valladolid; and ſent his Queen and ſon to Victoria. Some of his troops got off in ſmall bodies; and theſe were, in a little time brought together, to the number of about 10000 men; the troops,

troops, that they had on the frontier of Portugal, were brought to join them, with which they ſoon made up the face of an army. 1710.

King Charles made all the haſte he could to Madrid, but found none of the grandees there; and it appeared, that the Caſtilians were firmly united to King Philip, and reſolved to adhere to him, at all hazards. The King of France now ſhewed, he was reſolved to maintain his grandſon, ſince if he had ever intended to do it, it was now very eaſy to oblige him to evacuate Spain. On the contrary, he ſent the Duke of Vendome, to command the army there; and he ordered ſome troops to march into Catalonia, to force King Charles to come back, and ſecure that principality. King Charles continued till the beginning of December in Caſtile. In all that time, no care was taken by the allies, to ſupply or ſupport him: We were ſo engaged in our party-matters at home, that we ſeemed to take no thought of things abroad, and without us nothing could be done: The court of Vienna was ſo apprehenſive of the danger from a war, like to break out, between the Grand Seignior and the Czar, that they would not diminiſh their army in Hungary. After King Charles left his army, Starembergh ſeemed reſolved to take his winter Quarters in Caſtile, and made a ſhew of fortifying Toledo; but for want of proviſion, and chiefly for fear that his retreat to Arragon might be cut off, he reſolved to march back to the Ebro: King Philip marched after him. Starembergh left Stanhope ſome hours march behind him, and he took up his quarters in an unfortified village, called Brihuega: But finding King Philip was near him, he ſent his Aid de Camp to let Starembergh know his danger, and to deſire his aſſiſtance. Starembergh might have come in time to have ſaved him; but he moved ſo ſlowly, that it was conjectured, he envied the glory Stanhope had got, and was not ſorry to ſee it eclipſed; and therefore made not that haſte, he might and ought to have done. Stanhope

K. Charles at Madrid.

1710. Stanhope and his men caſt up entrenchments, and defended theſe very bravely, as long as their powder laſted; but in concluſion they were forced to ſurrender themſelves priſoners of war: Some hours after that, Starembergh came up; and though the enemy were more than double his number, yet he attacked them with ſuch ſucceſs, that he defeated them quite, killed 7000 of their men, took their cannon and baggage, and ſtaid a whole day in the field of battle. The enemy drew back; but Starembergh had ſuffered ſo much in the action, that he was not in a condition to purſue them; nor could he carry off their cannon for want of horſes; but he nailed them up, and by ſlow marches got to Saragoza, the enemy not thinking it convenient to give him any diſturbance. As he did not judge it ſafe to ſtay long in Arragon, ſo, in the beginning of January, he marched into Catalonia; but his army had ſuffered ſo much, both in the laſt action at Villa Vicioſa, and in the march, that he was not in a condition to venture on raiſing the ſiege of Gironne; which was then carried on by the Duke of Noailles: And no relief coming, the garriſon, after a brave defence, was forced to capitulate; and by this means Catalonia was open to the enemy on all ſides.

The battle of Villa Vicioſa.

The Spaniſh grandees ſeemed to be in ſome apprehenſions, of their being given up by the French; and there was a ſuſpicion of ſome caballing among them: Upon which, the Duke of Medina Celi, King Philip's chief Miniſter, was ſent a cloſe priſoner to the caſtle of Segovia, and was kept there very ſtrictly, none being admitted to ſpeak to him: He was not brought to any examination; but after he had been for ſome months in priſon, being often removed from one place to another, it was at laſt given out, that he died in priſon, not without the ſuſpicion of ill practices. Nothing paſſed on the ſide of Piedmont, the Duke of Savoy complaining ſtill of the Imperial court, and upon that refuſing to act vigorouſly.

The diſgrace of the Duke of Medina Celi.

After

After Doway was taken, our army ſate down before Bethune; and that ſiege held them a month, at the end of which the garriſon capitulated: And our army ſate down at one and the ſame time, before Aire and St. Venant, to ſecure the head of the Lys. St. Venant was taken in a few weeks; but the marſhy ground about Aire, made that a ſlower work: ſo that the ſiege continued there about two months, before the garriſon capitulated. This campaign, though not of ſuch luſtre as the former, becauſe no battle was fought, yet was by military men looked on as a very extraordinary one in this reſpect, that our men were about an hundred and fifty days in open trenches; which was ſaid to be a thing without example. During theſe ſieges, the French army poſted themſelves in ſure camps; but did not ſtir out of them; and it was not poſſible to engage them into any action. Nothing conſiderable paſſed on the Rhine, they being equally unable to enter upon action on both ſides. 1710. Bethune, Aire, and St. Venant are taken.

The Czar carried on the war in Livonia with ſuch ſucceſs, that he took both Riga and Revel; and to add to the miſeries of Sweden, a great plague ſwept away many of their people. Sweden itſelf was left expoſed to the Danes and the Czar; but their dominions in Germany were ſecured by the guaranty of the allies: Yet, though the government of Sweden did accept of this proviſionally, till the King's pleaſure ſhould be known, it was not without difficulty, that he was prevailed on to give way to it. Affairs in the North.

I come now to give an account of the ſeſſion of Parliament, which was opened the 25th of November: The Queen, in her ſpeech, took no notice of the ſucceſſes of this campaign, as ſhe had always done in her former ſpeeches; and inſtead of promiſing to maintain the toleration, ſhe ſaid ſhe would maintain the indulgence granted by law to ſcrupulous conſciences; this change of phraſe into Sacheverel's language was much obſerved. The The new Parliament opened.

1710. Lords made an addreſs of an odd compoſition to her, which ſhewed it was not drawn by thoſe, who had penned their former addreſſes: Inſtead of promiſing, that they would do all that was poſſible, they only promiſed to do all that was reaſonable, which ſeemed to import a limitation, as if they had apprehended, that unreaſonable things might be aſked of them: And the concluſion was in a very cold ſtrain of rhetorick; they ended with ſaying, "They had no more to add." The Commons were more hearty in their addreſs; and in the end of it, they reflected on ſome late practices againſt the church and ſtate. Bromley was choſen ſpeaker without any oppoſition; there were few whigs returned, againſt whom petitions were not offered; there were in all about an hundred; and by the firſt ſteps, the majority made it appear, that they intended to clear the houſe of all, who were ſuſpected to be whigs. They paſſed the bill for four ſhillings in the pound, before the ſhort receſs at Chriſtmas.

1711. During that time, the news came of the ill ſucceſs in Spain; and this giving a handle to examine into that part of our conduct, the Queen was adviſed to lay hold on it; ſo, without ſtaying till ſhe heard from her own Miniſters or her allies, as was uſual, ſhe laid the matter before the Parliament, as the publick news brought it from Paris; which was afterwards found to be falſe in many particulars; and told them, what orders ſhe had given upon it, of which ſhe hoped they would approve. This was a mean expreſſion from the ſovereign, not uſed in former meſſages; and ſeemed to be below the dignity of the Crown. She ordered ſome regiments to be carried over to Spain, and named the Earl of Peterborough, to go to the court of Vienna, to preſs them to join in the moſt effectual meaſures, for ſupporting King Charles there. The Lords, in their anſwer to this meſſage, promiſed that they would

The conduct in Spain cenſured by the Lords.

examine into the conduct of the war in Spain, to see if there had been any mismanagement, in any part of it: And they entred immediately into that enquiry. They began it with an address to the Queen, to delay the dispatch of the Earl of Peterborough, till the House might receive from him such informations of the affairs of Spain, as he could give them. This was readily granted, and he gave the House a long recital of the affairs of Spain, loading the Earl of Gallway with all the miscarriages in that war. And in particular he said, that in a council of war in Valencia, in the middle of January 1706-7, the Earl of Gallway had pressed the pushing an offensive war for that year; and that the Lord Tyrawly and Stanhope had concurred with him in that: Whereas he himself was for lying on a defensive war for that year in Spain: He said, this resolution was carried by those three, against the King of Spain's own mind; and he imputed all the misfortunes that followed in Spain, to this resolution so taken. Stanhope had given an account of the debates in that Council to the Queen; and the Earl of Sunderland, in answer to his letter, had wrote by the Queen's order, that she approved of their pressing for an offensive war; and they were ordered to persist in that. The Earl of Sunderland said, in that letter, that the Queen took notice, that they three (meaning the Earl of Gallway, Lord Tyrawly, and Stanhope) were the only persons that were for acting offensively: And that little regard was to be had to the Earl of Peterborough's opposition. Upon the strength of this letter the Earl of Peterborough affirmed, that the whole Council of War was against an offensive war: He laid the blame, not only of the battle of Almanza, and all that followed in Spain, upon those resolutions, but likewise the miscarriage of the design on Toulon; for he told them of a great design, he had concerted with the Duke of Savoy, and of the use that might have been made of some of the troops in Spain, if a defensive 1711.

1711. war had been agreed to there. The Earl of Gallway and the Lord Tyrawly were ſent for; and they were aſked an account of that Council at Valencia: They ſaid, there were many Councils held there about that time; and that both the Portugueze Ambaſſador and General, and the Envoy of the States agreed with them in their opinions, for an offenſive war; and they named ſome Spaniards, that were of the ſame mind: They alſo ſaid, that all along, even to the battle of Almanza, in all their reſolutions, the majority of the Council of War voted for every thing that was done, and that they were directed to perſiſt in their opinions, by letters wrote to them, in the Queen's name, by the Secretaries of State: That as to the words, in the Earl of Sunderland's letter, that ſpoke of them, as the only perſons that were of that opinion; theſe were underſtood by them, as belonging only to the Queen's ſubjects, and that they related more immediately to the Earl of Peterborough, who oppoſed that reſolution, but not to the reſt of the Council of War; for the majority of them was of their mind.

The Earl of Gallway gave in two papers; the one related to his own conduct in Spain; the other was an anſwer to the relation given in writing by the Earl of Peterborough. The Houſe of Lords was ſo diſpoſed, that the majority believed every thing that was ſaid by the Earl of Peterborough; and it was carried, that his account was honourable, faithful, and juſt; and that all the misfortunes in Spain were the effect and conſequence of thoſe reſolutions, taken in the middle of January.

From this cenſure on the Earl of Gallway, the debate was carried to that, which was chiefly aimed at, to put a cenſure on the Miniſtry here. So it was moved, that an addreſs ſhould be made to the Queen, to free thoſe, who were under an oath of ſecrecy, from that tie, that a full account might be laid before the Houſe, of all their conſultations:

The Queen granted this readily; and came to the House, which was understood to be on design to favour that, which was aimed at. Upon this the Duke of Marlborough, the Earls of Godolphin and Sunderland, and the Lord Cowper shewed that, considering the force sent over to Spain under the Lord Rivers, they thought an offensive war was adviseable; that the expence of that war was so great, and the prospect was so promising, that they could not but think an offensive war necessary; and that to advise a defensive one, would have made them liable to a just censure, as designing to protract the war. The design on Toulon was no way intermixed with the affairs of Spain; the Earl of Peterborough fancied he was in that secret, and had indeed proposed the bringing over some troops from Spain on that design, and had offered a scheme to the Duke of Savoy, in which that was mentioned, and had sent that over to England. But though the Duke of Savoy suffered that Lord to amuse himself, with his own project, which he had concerted for the attempt on Toulon; that Duke had declared he would not undertake it, if it was not managed with the utmost secrecy, which was sacredly kept, and communicated only to those, to whom it must be trusted for the execution of it. No troops from Spain were to be imployed in that service, nor did it miscarry for want of men. These Lords farther said, they gave their opinions in council, according to the best of their judgment, their intentions were very sincere, for the service of the Queen, and to bring the war to a speedy conclusion. Yet a vote passed, that they were to blame for advising an offensive war in Spain, upon which the loss of the battle of Almanza followed; and that this occasioned the miscarrying of the design upon Toulon. 1711.

Here was a new and strange precedent, of censuring a resolution taken in council; and of desiring the Queen to order all, that had passed in council, to Reflections made on it.

1711. be laid before the Houſe: In all the hot debates in King Charles the Firſt's reign, in which many reſolutions taken in council were juſtly cenſurable, yet the paſſing any cenſure on them was never attempted by men, who were no way partial in favour of the prerogative: But they underſtood well what our conſtitution was in that point: A reſolution in council was only the Sovereign's act, who, upon hearing his counſellors deliver their opinions, forms his own reſolution: A counſellor may indeed be liable to cenſure, for what he may ſay at that board; but the reſolution taken there has been hitherto treated with a ſilent reſpect: But by this precedent, it will be hereafter ſubject to a parliamentary enquiry. The Queen was ſo deſirous to have a cenſure fixed on her former miniſtry, that ſhe did not enough conſider the wound given to the prerogative, by the way in which it was done.

After this was over, another enquiry was made into the force we had in Spain, at the time of the battle of Almanza; and it was found not to exceed 14000 men, though the Parliament had voted 29000 for the war in Spain. This ſeemed to be a crying thing; tragical declamations were made upon it: But in truth that vote had paſſed here only in the January before the battle of Almanza, which was fought on the 14th of April. Now it was not poſſible to levy and tranſport men in ſo ſhort a time: It was made appear, that all the money, given by the Parliament for that ſervice, was iſſued out and applied to it, and that extraordinary diligence was uſed, both in forwarding the levies and in their tranſportation: They were ſent from Ireland, the paſſage from thence being both ſafeſt and quickeſt. All this, and a great deal more to the ſame purpoſe, was ſaid: But it ſignified nothing; for when reſolutions are taken up beforehand, the debating concerning them is only a piece of form, uſed to come at the queſtion with ſome decency: And there was ſo little of that obſerved

ſerved at this time, that the Duke of Buckingham ſaid in plain words, that they had the majority, and would make uſe of it, as he had obſerved done by others, when they had it on their ſide. So, though no examination had been made, but into that ſingle point of the numbers at Almanza, they came to a general vote, that the late Miniſtry had been negligent, in the management of the war in Spain, to the great prejudice of the nation; and they then ordered all their proceedings and votes to be put in an addreſs, and laid before the Queen: And though they had made no enquiry into the expence of that war, nor into the application of the money, given by the Parliament for it, yet in their addreſs they mentioned the great profuſion of money in that ſervice. This they thought would touch the nation very ſenſibly; and they hoped the thing would be eaſily believed on their word. Proteſts were made againſt every vote, in the whole progreſs of this matter: Some of theſe carried ſuch reflections, on the votes of the Houſe, that they were expunged. 1711.

A ſtrange way of proceeding.

I never ſaw any thing carried on, in the Houſe of Lords, ſo little to their honour as this was; ſome, who voted with the reſt, ſeemed aſhamed of it: They ſaid, ſomewhat was to be done, to juſtify the Queen's change of the Miniſtry; and every thing elſewhere had been ſo well conducted, as to be above all cenſure: So the misfortune of Almanza, being a viſible thing, they reſolved to lay the load there. The management of the publick treaſure was exact and unexceptionable: So that the ſingle misfortune of the whole war was to be magnified; ſome were more eaſily drawn to concur in theſe votes, becauſe by the act of grace, all thoſe, who had been concerned in the adminiſtration, were covered from proſecution and puniſhment: So this was repreſented to ſome, as a compliment that would be very acceptable to the Queen, and by which no perſon could be hurt. They loaded ſingly the Earl of Gallway, with the

1711. loſs of the battle of Almanza, though it was reſolved on in a council of war, and he had behaved himſelf in it, with all the bravery and conduct that could be expected from a great General, and had made a good retreat, and ſecured Catalonia with inexpreſſible diligence. They alſo cenſured him for not inſiſting on the point of honour, in the precedence to be given to the Engliſh troops, as ſoon as the Portugueze army entered into Spain: But, by our treaty with that Crown, the army was to be commanded by a Portugueze General; ſo it was not in his power to change the order of the army: If he had made the leaſt ſtruggle about it, the Portugueze, who were not eaſily prevailed on to enter into Spain, would have gladly enough laid hold of any occaſion, which ſuch a diſpute would have given them, and have turned back upon it: And ſo by his inſiſting on ſuch a punctilio, the whole deſign would have been loſt. We had likewiſe, in our treaty with them, yielded expreſsly the point of the flag in thoſe ſeas, for which alone, on other occaſions, we have engaged in wars; ſo he had no reaſon to conteſt a leſſer point: Yet a cenſure was likewiſe laid on this. And this was the concluſion of the enquiries, made by the Houſe of Lords this ſeſſion.

Some abuſes cenſured in the Houſe of Commons

Harley, in the Houſe of Commons, led them to enquire into ſome abuſes in the victualling the navy: They had been publickly practiſed for many years, ſome have ſaid ever ſince the reſtoration: The abuſe was viſible, but connived at, that ſeveral expences might be anſwered that way: Some have ſaid, that the Captains tables were kept out of the gain made in it. Yet a member of the Houſe, who was a whig, was complained of for this, and expelled the Houſe; and a proſecution was ordered againſt him: But the abuſe goes on ſtill, as avowedly as ever; here was a ſhew of zeal, and a ſeeming diſcovery of fraudulent practices, by which the nation was deceived.

The

The money did not come into the Treasury so readily as formerly, neither upon the act of four shillings in the pound, nor on the duty laid on malt: So, to raise a quick supply, there were two bills passed, for raising three millions and a half by two lotteries, the first of 1,500,000 l. and the second of two millions, to be paid back in thirty-two years; and for a fund, to answer this, duties were laid on hops, candles, leather, cards and dice, and on the postage on letters. In one branch of this, the House of Commons seemed to break in upon a rule, that had hitherto passed for a sacred one. When the duty upon leather was first proposed, it was rejected by a majority, and so, by their usual orders, it was not to be offered again, during that session: But after a little practice upon some members, the same duty was proposed, with this variation, that skins and tanned hides should be so charged; this was leather in another name. The lotteries were soon filled up; so, by this means, money came into the Treasury: And indeed this method has never yet failed of raising a speedy supply. There was no more asked, though in the beginning of this session, the House had voted a million more, than these bills amounted to; which made some conclude, there was a secret negotiation and prospect of a peace. 1711. Supplies given for the war.

As the Duke of Marlborough was involved in the general censure passed on the former Ministry, so he had not the usual compliment of thanks for the successes of the former campaign: When that was moved in the House of Lords, it was opposed with such eagerness by the Duke of Argyle and others, that it was let fall: For this the Duke of Marlborough was prepared by the Queen; who, upon his coming over, told him that he was not to expect the thanks of the two Houses, as had been formerly: She added, that she expected he should live well with her Ministers, but did not think fit to say any thing of the reasons she had, for making those The Duke of Marlborough still commanded our armies.

1711. thoſe changes in her Miniſtry. Yet he ſhewed no reſentments, for all the ill uſage he met with; and, having been much preſſed by the States and our other Allies, to continue in the command of the army, he told me, upon that account, he reſolved to be patient, and to ſubmit to every thing, in order to the carrying on the war; and finding the Queen's prepoſſeſſion againſt his Dutcheſs was not to be overcome, he carried a ſurrender of all her places to the Queen: She was Groom of the Stole, had the Robes, and the Privy Purſe, in all which, ſhe had ſerved with great œconomy and fidelity to the Queen, and juſtice to thoſe, who dealt with the Crown. The Dutcheſs of Somerſet had the two firſt of theſe employments, and Mrs. Maſham had the laſt.

Complaints upon the favour ſhewed the Palatines.

The Houſe of Commons found the encouragement given the Palatines, was ſo diſpleaſing to the people, that they ordered a committee to examine into that matter. The truth of this ſtory was, that in the year 1708, about fifty Palatines, who were Lutherans, and were ruined, came over to England: Theſe were ſo effectually recommended to Prince George's chaplains, that the Queen allowed them a ſhilling a-day, and took care to have them tranſported to the plantations: They, raviſhed with this good reception, wrote over ſuch an account of it, as occaſioned a general diſpoſition among all the poor of that country to come over, in ſearch of better fortunes: And ſome of our merchants, who were concerned in the plantations, and knew the advantage of bringing over great numbers to people thoſe deſert countries, encouraged them with the promiſes of lands and ſettlements there. This being printed, and ſpread through thoſe parts, they came to Holland in great bodies: The Anabaptiſts there were particularly helpful to them, both in ſubſiſting thoſe in Holland, and in tranſporting them to England. Upon their coming over, the Queen relieved them at firſt;

firſt; and great charities were ſent to ſupport them: 1711.
All the tories declared againſt the good reception that was given them, as much as the whigs approved of it. It happened at a bad ſeaſon, for bread was then ſold at double the ordinary price; ſo the poor complained, that ſuch charities went to ſupport ſtrangers, when they needed them ſo much: The time of our fleet's ſailing to the plantations was likewiſe at a great diſtance. The Palatines expected to be all kept together in a colony, and became very uneaſy, when they ſaw that could not be compaſſed: Some of them were both unactive and mutinous; and this heightened the outcry againſt them: Some Papiſts mixed among them, and came over with them; but they were preſently ſent back. Great numbers were ſent to Ireland; but moſt of them to the plantations in North America, where it is believed their induſtry will quickly turn to a good account. The deſign was now formed, to load the late Adminiſtration all that was poſſible; ſo it was pretended, that in all that affair, there was a deſign againſt the Church, and to increaſe the numbers and ſtrength of the Diſſenters. It has indeed paſſed for an eſtabliſhed maxim, in all ages, and in all governments, that the drawing of numbers of people to any nation, did increaſe its intrinſick ſtrength; which is only to be meaſured, by the multitude of the people, that inhabit and cultivate it: Yet the Houſe of Commons came to a ſudden vote, that thoſe who had encouraged and brought over the Palatines, were enemies to the nation: And, becauſe a letter, wrote by the Earl of Sunderland, in the Queen's name, to the council of trade, was laid before them, by which they were ordered to conſider of the beſt methods of diſpoſing of them, it was moved to lay the load of that matter on him, in ſome ſevere votes: Yet this was put off for that time; and afterwards by ſeveral adjournments delay'd, till at laſt it was let fall.

But.

1711. But while the heat, raiſed by this enquiry, was kept up; the Commons paſs'd a bill to repeal the act for a generel naturalization of all Proteſtants, which had paſs'd two years before; pretending that it gave the encouragement to the Palatines to come over, tho' none of them had made uſe of that act, in order to their naturalization. This was ſent up to the Lords; and the Lord Guernſey, and ſome others, entertained them with tragical declamations on the ſubject; yet, upon the firſt reading of the Bill, it was rejected. A bill, that was formerly often attempted, for diſabling members of the Houſe of Commons to hold places had the ſame fate.

A bill to repeal the general naturalization rejected by the Lords.

Another bill, for qualifying members, by having 600 *l.* a-year for a knight of the ſhire, and 300 *l.* a-year for a burgeſs, ſucceeded better: The deſign of this was to exclude courtiers, military men, and merchants, from ſitting in the Houſe of Commons, in hopes that this being ſettled, the land intereſt would be the prevailing conſideration, in all their conſultations. They did not extend theſe qualifications to Scotland; it being pretended that eſtates there being generally ſmall, it would not be eaſy to find men ſo qualified, capable to ſerve. This was thought to ſtrike at an eſſential part of our conſtitution, touching the freedom of elections: And it had been, as often as it was attempted, oppoſed by the Miniſtry, though it had a fair appearance of ſecuring liberty, when all was lodged with men of eſtates: Yet our gentry was become ſo ignorant, and ſo corrupt, that many apprehended the ill effects of this; and that the intereſt of trade, which indeed ſupports that of the land, would neither be underſtood nor regarded. But the new Miniſters reſolved to be popular with thoſe who promoted it; ſo it paſſed, and was much magnified, as a main part of our ſecurity for the future.

A bill qualifying members to be choſen paſſed.

Another

Another bill paſſed, not much to the honour of thoſe who promoted it, for the importation of the French wine: The intereſt of the nation lay againſt this ſo viſibly, that nothing but the delicate palates of thoſe, who loved that liquor, could have carried ſuch a motion through the two houſes. But, though the bill paſs'd, it was like to have no effect: For it was provided, that the wine ſhould be imported in neutral veſſels; and the King of France had forbid it to be exported, in any veſſels but his own: it ſeems he reckoned, that our deſire of drinking his wine, would carry us to take it on ſuch terms, as he ſhould preſcribe. In the Houſe of Commons there appeared a new combination of tories, of the higheſt form, who thought the court was yet in ſome management with the whigs, and did not come up to their heighth, which they imputed to Mr. Harley; ſo they began to form themſelves in oppoſition to him, and expreſſed their jealouſy of him on ſeveral occaſions, ſometimes publickly. But an odd accident, that had almoſt been fatal, proved happy to him; it fell out on the 8th of March the day of the Queen's acceſſion to the Crown: One Guiſcard, who was an abbot in France, had for ſome enormous crimes made his eſcape out of that kingdom; he printed a formal ſtory of a deſign he was laying, to raiſe a general inſurrection in the ſouthern parts of France (in conjunction with thoſe, who were then up in the Cevennes) for recovering their ancient liberties, as well as for reſtoring the edicts in favour of the Huguenots: And he ſeemed very zealous for publick liberty. He inſinuated himſelf ſo into the Duke of Savoy, that he recommended him to our court, as a man capable of doing great ſervice: He ſeemed forward to undertake any thing, that he might be put on; he had a penſion aſſigned him for ſome years, but it did not anſwer his expence; ſo when he was out of hope of getting it increaſed, he wrote to one at the Court of France, to

1711.

An act for French wine.

An attempt on Harley by Guiſcard.

1711. to offer his ſervice there; and it was thought, he had a deſign againſt the Queen's perſon; for he had tried, by all the ways that he could contrive, to be admitted to ſpeak with her in private; which he had attempted that very morning: but his letter being opened at the poſt-houſe, and brought to the cabinet council, a meſſenger was ſent from the council, to ſeize on him. He found him walking in St. James Park; and having diſarmed him, carried him to the Lords, who were then ſitting: As he waited without, before he was called in, he took up a penknife, which lay among pens in a ſtandiſh; when he was queſtioned upon his letter, he deſired to ſpeak in private with Secretary St. John, who refuſed it; and he being placed out of his reach, whereas Harley ſate near him, he ſtruck him in the breaſt with the penknife, again and again, till it broke; and indeed wounded him as much as could be done, with ſo ſmall a tool. The other counſellors drew their ſwords, and ſtabbed Guiſcard in ſeveral places; and their attendants being called in, they dragged him out. Harley's wound was preſently ſearched; it appeared to be a ſlight one, yet he was long in the ſurgeon's hands: ſome imputed this to an ill habit of body; others thought it was an artifice, to make it ſeem more dangerous than indeed it was. Guiſcard's wounds were deeper, and not eaſily managed; for at firſt he was ſullen, and ſeemed reſolved to die; yet after a day, he ſubmitted himſelf to the ſurgeons: But did not complain of a wound in his back, till it gangreened; and of that he died. It was not known, what particulars were in his letter, for various reports went of it; nor was it known what he confeſſed.

This accident was of great uſe to Harley; for the party formed againſt him, was aſhamed to puſh a man, who was thus aſſaſſinated by one, that was ſtudying to recommend himſelf to the Court of France, and who was believed to have formed a deſign

design against the Queen's person. Her health was at this time much shaken. She had three fits of an ague; the last was a severe one: but the progress of the disease was stopped by the bark. 1711.

The tories continued still to pursue the memory of King William; they complained of the grants made by him, though these were far short of those, that had been made by King Charles the second; but that they might distinguish between those, whom they intended to favour, and others, against whom they were set, they brought in a bill, empowering some persons to examine all the grants made by him, and to report both the value of them, and the considerations upon which they were made: This was the method, that had succeeded with them before, with relation to Ireland; so the bringing in this bill was looked on, as a sure step, for carrying the resumption of all the grants, that they had a mind to make void. When it was brought up to the Lords, the design appeared to be an unjust malice against the memory of our deliverer, and against those, who had served him best; so upon the first reading of the bill, it was rejected. A design against King William's grants miscarries.

Their malice turned next against the Earl of Godolphin: They found, that the supplies given by Parliament were not all returned, and the accounts of many millions were not yet passed in the Exchequer; so they passed a vote, that the accounts of thirty-five millions yet stood out. This was a vast sum; but to make it up, some accounts in King Charles's time were thrown into the heap; the Lord Ranelagh's accounts of the former reign were the greatest part; and it appeared, that in no time accounts were so regularly brought up, as in the Queen's reign. Mr. Bridges's accounts, of fourteen or fifteen millions, were the great item, of which, not above half a million was passed: But there were accounts of above eleven millions brought in, though not pass'd in form, through the great caution Enquiries into the accounts.

1711. caution and exactneſs of the Duke of Newcaſtle, at whoſe office they were to paſs; and he was very ſlow, and would allow nothing, without hearing counſel on every article. The truth is, the methods of paſſing accounts were ſo ſure, that they were very ſlow; and it was not poſſible for the proper officers to find time and leiſure to paſs the accounts that were already in their hands. Upon this, though the Earl of Godolphin had managed the treaſury, with an uncorruptneſs, fidelity, and diligence, that were ſo unexceptionable, that it was not poſſible to fix any cenſure on his adminiſtration; yet, becauſe many accounts ſtood out, they paſſed ſome angry votes on that: But ſince nothing had appeared, in all the examination they had made, that reflected on him, or on any of the whigs, they would not conſent to the motion that was made, for printing that report; for by that, it would have appeared, who had ſerved well, and who had ſerved ill.

When this ſeſſion drew near an end, ſome were concerned to find that a body, choſen ſo much by the zeal and influence of the clergy, ſhould have done nothing for the good of the church; ſo it being apparent, that in the ſuburbs of London there were about 200,000 people more, than could poſſibly worſhip God in the churches built there upon a meſſage to them from the Queen (to which the riſe was given by an addreſs to her from the Convocation) they voted that fifty more churches ſhould be built; and laid the charge of it upon that part of the duty on coals, that had been reſerved for building of St. Paul's, which was now finiſhed.

The Dauphin's death, and the Emperor's.

In the beginning of April, the Dauphin and the Emperor both died of the ſmall pox; the firſt on the third, the ſecond on the ſixth of the month. Time will ſhew what influence the one or the other will have on publick affairs. The Electors were all reſolved to chuſe King Charles Emperor. A little

little before the Emperor's death, two great affairs were fully settled; the differences between that Court and the Duke of Savoy were composed, to the Duke's satisfaction: The other was of more importance; offers of amnesty and concessions were sent to the malecontents in Hungary, with which they were so well satisfied, that a full peace was like to follow on it: And, lest the news of the Emperor's death should be any stop to that settlement, it was kept up from them, till a body of 10,000 came in and delivered up their arms, with the fort of Cassaw, and took an oath of obedience to King Charles, which was the first notice they had of Joseph's death. 1711.

War breaking out between the Turk and the Czar.

The effects of this will probably go farther, than barely to the quieting of Hungary: For the King of Sweden, the Crim Tartar, and the agents of France had so animated the Turks against the Muscovites; that tho' the Sultan had no mind to engage in a new war, till the affairs of that empire should be put in a better state; yet he was so apprehensive of the Janizaries, that, much against his own inclinations, he was brought to declare war against the Czar: But both the Czar and he seemed inclined to accept the mediation, that was offered by England and by the States; to which very probably the Turks may the more easily be brought, when they see no hope of any advantage to be made, from the distractions in Hungary.

It did not yet appear, what would be undertaken on either side in Spain: King Philip had not yet opened the campaign; but it was given out, that great preparations were made for a siege: On the other hand, King Charles had great re-inforcements sent him; so that his force was reckoned not inferior to King Philip's: Nor was it yet known, what resolutions he had taken, since he received the news of the Emperor's death.

The campaign was now opened on both sides in the Netherlands, though later than was intended:

1711. The ſeaſon continued long ſo rainy, that all the ways in thoſe parts were impracticable: Nothing was yet attempted on either ſide; both armies lay near one another; and both were ſo well poſted, that no attack was yet made: And this was the preſent ſtate of affairs abroad, at the end of May. At home Mr. Harley was created Earl of Oxford, and then made Lord High Treaſurer, and had now the ſupreme favour: The ſeſſion of Parliament was not yet at an end. There had been a great project carried on, for a trade into the South Sea; and a fund was projected, for paying the intereſt of nine millions, that were in arrear for our marine affairs.

The Convocation met.

From our temporal concerns, I turn to give an account of thoſe, which related to the church: The Convocation of the province of Canterbury was opened, the 25th of November, the ſame day in which the Parliament met: And Atterbury was choſen Prolocutor. Soon after, the Queen ſent a licence to the Convocation, empowering them to enter upon ſuch conſultations, as the preſent ſtate of the church required, and particularly to conſider of ſuch matters, as ſhe ſhould lay before them; limiting them to a quorum, that the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, the Biſhop of London, or the Biſhop of Bath and Wells ſhould be preſent, and agree to their reſolutions. With this licence, there was a letter directed to the Archbiſhop, in which the Convocation was ordered to lay before the Queen an account of the late exceſſive growth of infidelity and hereſy among us; and to conſider how to redreſs abuſes in excommunications; how rural deans might be made more effectual; how terriers might be made and preſerved more exactly; and how the abuſes in licences for marriage might be corrected.

Exceptions to the licence ſent them.

In this whole matter, neither the Archbiſhop nor any of the Biſhops were ſo much as conſulted with; and ſome things in the licence were new: The Archbiſhop was not named the Preſi-

dent

dent of the Convocation, as was uſual in former licences; and in theſe, the Archbiſhop's preſence and conſent alone was made neceſſary except in caſe of ſickneſs, and then the Archbiſhop had named ſome Biſhops to preſide, as his commiſſaries: And in that caſe, the Convocation was limited to his commiſſaries, which ſtill lodged the preſidentſhip and the negative with the Archbiſhop: This was according to the primitive pattern, to limit the clergy of a province to do nothing, without the conſent of the Metropolitan; but it was a thing new and unheard-of, to limit the Convocation to any of their own body, who had no deputation from the Archbiſhop. So a report of this being made, by a committee that was appointed to ſearch the records, it was laid before the Queen: And ſhe ſent us a meſſage to let us know, that ſhe did not intend, that thoſe whom ſhe had named to be of the quorum, ſhould either preſide or have a negative upon our deliberations, though the contrary was plainly inſinuated in the licence. The Archbiſhop was ſo ill of the gout, that after our firſt meetings, he could come no more to us; ſo was the Biſhop of London: Upon which, the Biſhop of Bath and Wells, ſeeing how invidiouſly he was diſtinguiſhed from his brethren, in which he had not been conſulted, pretended ill health; and we were at a ſtand, till a new licence was ſent us, in which the Biſhops of Winchester, Briſtol, and St. Davids were added to be of the quorum. The two laſt were newly conſecrated, and had been in no functions in the church before: So the Queen not only paſſed over all the Biſhops, made in King William's reign, but a great many of thoſe named by herſelf, and ſet the two laſt in a diſtinction above all their brethren. All this was directed by Atterbury, who had the confidence of the chief Miniſter; and becauſe the other Biſhops had maintained a good correſpondence with the former Miniſtry, it was thought fit to put marks of the

1711.

A new licence.

1711. Queen's diſtruſt upon them, that it might appear, with whom her royal favour and truſt was lodged.

A repreſentation drawn for the Queen.

The convocation entred on the conſideration of the matters referred to them by the Queen: And a committee was appointed, to draw a repreſentation of the preſent ſtate of the church, and of religion among us; but after ſome heads were agreed on, Atterbury procured, that the drawing of this might be left to him: And he drew up a moſt virulent declamation, defaming all the adminiſtration from the time of the revolution: Into this he brought many impious principles and practices, that had been little heard of or known, but were now to be publiſhed, if this ſhould be laid before the Queen. The lower houſe agreed to his draught; but the Biſhops laid it aſide, and ordered another repreſentation to be drawn, in more general and more modeſt terms. It was not ſettled, which of theſe draughts ſhould be made uſe of, or whether any repreſentation at all ſhould be made to the Queen: For it was known, that the deſign in aſking one was only to have an aſperſion caſt, both on the former Miniſtry and on the former reign. Several proviſions were prepared, with relation to the other particulars in the Queen's letter: But none of theſe were agreed to by both houſes.

Whiſton revived Arianiſm.

An incident happened, that diverted their thoughts to another matter: Mr. Whiſton, the profeſſor of Mathematicks in Cambridge, a learned man, of a ſober and exemplary life, but much ſet on hunting for paradoxes, fell on the reviving the Arian Hereſy, though he pretended to differ from Arius, in ſeveral particulars: Yet upon the main he was partly Apollinariſt, partly Arian; for he thought the Nous or Word was all the ſoul that acted in our Saviour's body. He found his notions favoured by the apoſtolical conſtitutions; ſo he reckoned them a part, and the chief part of the canon of the ſcriptures. For theſe tenets, he was cenſured at Cambridge, and expelled the univerſity: Upon that,

that, he wrote a vindication of himſelf and his doctrine, and dedicated it to the Convocation, promiſing a larger work on theſe ſubjects. The unconteſted way of proceeding in ſuch a caſe was, that the Biſhop of the dioceſe, in which he lived, ſhould cite him into his court, in order to his conviction or cenſure, from whoſe ſentence an appeal lay to the Archbiſhop, and from him to the Crown: Or the Archbiſhop might proceed in the firſt inſtance in a court of audience: But we ſaw no clear precedents, of any proceedings in Convocation, where the juriſdiction was conteſted; a reference made by the high commiſſion to the Convocation, where the party ſubmitted to do penance, being the only precedent that appeared in hiſtory; and even of this we had no record: So that it not being thought a clear warrant for our proceeding, we were at a ſtand. The act, that ſettled the courſe of appeals in King Henry the eighth's time, made no mention of ſentences in Convocation; and yet, by the act in the firſt of Queen Elizabeth, that defined what ſhould be judged hereſy, that judgment was declared to be in the Crown: By all this (which the Archbiſhop laid before the Biſhops in a letter, that he wrote to them on this occaſion) it ſeemed doubtful, whether the Convocation could, in the firſt inſtance, proceed againſt a man for hereſy: And their proceedings, if they were not warranted by law, might involve them in a præmunire. So the upper houſe, in an addreſs, prayed the Queen to aſk the opinions of the judges, and ſuch others, as ſhe thought fit, concerning theſe doubts, that they might know how the law ſtood in this matter. 1711.

The different opinions of the judges concerning the power of the Convocation.

Eight of the judges, with the attorney and ſolicitor-general, gave their opinion, that we had a juriſdiction, and might proceed in ſuch a caſe; but brought no expreſs law nor precedent to ſupport their opinion: They only obſerved, that the law-books ſpoke of the Convocation, as having juriſ-

1711. diction, and they did not see that it was ever taken from them: They were also of opinion, that an appeal lay from the sentence of Convocation to the Crown; but they reserved to themselves a power to change their mind, in case, upon an argument that might be made for a prohibition, they should see cause for it. Four of the judges were positively of a contrary opinion, and maintained it from the statutes made at the reformation. The Queen, having received these different opinions, sent them to the Archbishop, to be laid before the two houses of Convocation; and, without taking any notice of the diversity between them, she wrote that, there being now no doubt to be made of our judisdiction, she did expect, that we should proceed in the matter before us. In this it was visible, that those who advised the Queen to write that letter, considered more their own humours than her honour. Yet two great doubts still remained, even supposing we had a jurisdiction: The first was, of whom the court was to be composed; whether only of the Bishops, or what share the lower house had in this judiciary authority: The other was, by what delegates, in case of an appeal, our sentence was to be examined: Were no Bishops to be in the court of delegates? or was the sentence of the Archbishop and his twenty-one suffragan Bishops, with the clergy of the province, to be judged by the Archbishop of York and his three suffragan Bishops? These difficulties appearing to be so great, the Bishops resolved to begin with that, in which they had, by the Queen's licence, an undisputable authority; which was to examine and censure the book, and to see if his doctrine was not contrary to the Scriptures, and the first four General Councils, which is the measure set by law, to judge heresy. They drew out some propositions from his book, which seemed plainly to be the reviving of Arianism; and censured them as such. These they sent down to

Whiston's doctrines condemned.

the

the Lower Houſe, who, though they excepted to one propoſition, yet conſured the reſt in the ſame manner. This the Archbiſhop (being then diſabled by the gout) ſent by one of the Biſhops to the Queen for her aſſent, who promiſed to conſider of it: But to end the matter at once, at their next meeting in winter, no anſwer being come from the Queen, two Biſhops were ſent to aſk it; but ſhe could not tell what was become of the paper, which the Archbiſhop had ſent her; ſo a new extract of the cenſure was again ſent to her: But ſhe has not yet thought fit to ſend any anſwer to it. So Whiſton's affair ſleeps, though he has publiſhed a large work in four volumes in octavo, juſtifying his doctrine, and maintaining the canonicalneſs of the apoſtolical conſtitutions, preferring their authority not only to the epiſtles, but even to the goſpels. In this laſt I do not find he has made any proſelytes, though he has ſet himſelf much to ſupport that paradox. 1711.

The Lower Houſe would not enter into the conſideration of the repreſentation, ſent down to them by the Biſhops; ſo none was agreed on, to be preſented to the Queen: But both were printed, and ſevere reflections were made, in ſeveral tracts, on that which was drawn by the Lower Houſe, or rather by Atterbury. The Biſhops went through all the matters, recommended to them by the Queen; and drew up a ſcheme of regulations on them all: But neither were theſe agreed to, by the Lower Houſe; for their ſpirits were ſo exaſperated, that nothing ſent by the Biſhops could be agreeable to them. At laſt the ſeſſion of Parliament and Convocation came to an end.

The laſt thing ſettled by the Parliament was, the creating a new fund for a trade in the South Sea: There was a great debt upon the navy, occaſioned partly, by the deficiency of the funds appointed for the ſervice at ſea, but chiefly by the neceſſity of applying ſuch ſupplies as were given, without appro- An act for the South-Sea trade.

1711. priating clauſes, to the ſervice abroad; where it was impoſſible to carry it on by credit, without ready money, ſo it was judged neceſſary to let the debt of the navy run on upon credit: This had riſen up to ſeveral millions; and the diſcount on the navy-bills ran high. All this debt was thrown into one ſtock; and a fund was formed, for paying the intereſt at 6 per Cent.

Reflections on the old Miniſtry fully cleared.

The flatterers of the new Miniſters made great uſe of this, to magnify them, and to aſperſe the old Miniſtry: But a full report of that matter was ſoon after publiſhed, by which it appeared, that the publick money had been managed with the utmoſt fidelity and frugality; and it was made evident, that when there was not money enough to anſwer all the expence of the war, it was neceſſary to apply it to that, which preſſed moſt, and where the ſervice could not be carried on by credit: So this debt was contracted by an inevitable neceſſity; and all reaſonable perſons were fully ſatisfied with this account of the matter. The Earl of Godolphin's unblemiſhed integrity was ſuch, that no imputation of any ſort could be faſtened on him; ſo, to keep up a clamour, they reflected on the expence he had run the nation into, upon the early ſucceſſes in the year 1706; which were very juſtly acknowledged, and cleared in the ſucceeding ſeſſion, as was formerly told: But that was now revived; and it was ſaid to be an invaſion of the great right of the Commons in giving ſupplies, to enter on deſigns and to engage the nation in an expence, not provided for by Parliament. This was aggravated, with many tragical expreſſions, as a ſubverſion of the conſtitution; ſo with this, and that of the thirty-five millions, of which the accounts were not yet paſſed, and ſome other particulars, they made an inflaming addreſs to the Queen, at the end of the ſeſſions. And this was artificially ſpread through the nation, by which weaker minds were ſo poſſeſſed, that it was not eaſy to undeceive them, even by the fulleſt and cleareſt evidences;

dences; the nation ſeemed ſtill infatuated beyond the power of conviction. With this the ſeſſion ended, and all conſidering perſons had a very melancholy proſpect, when they ſaw what might be apprehended from the two ſeſſions, that were yet to come of the ſame Parliament. 1711.

I now turn to affairs abroad. The buſineſs of Spain had been ſo much preſſed from the throne, and ſo much inſiſted on all this ſeſſion, and the Commons had given 1,500,000 l. for that ſervice (a ſum far beyond all that had been granted in any preceding ſeſſion) ſo that it was expected, matters would have been carried there in another manner than formerly. The Duke of Argyle was ſent to command the Queen's troops there, and he ſeemed full of heat: But all our hopes failed. The Duke of Vendome's army was in ſo ill a condition, that if Starembergh had been ſupported, he promiſed himſelf great advantages: It does not yet appear what made this to fail; for the Parliament has not yet taken this into examination. It is certain the Duke of Argyle did nothing; neither he nor his troops were once named, during the whole campaign; he wrote over very heavy complaints, that he was not ſupported, by the failing of the remittances, that he expected: But what ground there was for that, does not yet appear: for, though he afterwards came over, he was very ſilent, and ſeemed in a good underſtanding with the Miniſters. Starembergh drew out his forces; and the two armies lay for ſome time looking on one another, without coming to any action: Vendome ordered a ſiege to be laid to two ſmall places, but without ſucceſs. That of Cardona was perſiſted in obſtinately, till near the end of December, and then Starembergh ſent ſome bodies to raiſe the ſiege, who ſucceeded ſo well in their attempt, that they killed 2000 of the beſiegers, and forced their camp; ſo that they not only raiſed the ſiege, but made themſelves maſters of the enemies artillery, ammunition, and baggage; and the Affairs in Spain.

1711. Duke of Vendome's army was ſo diminiſhed, that if Starembergh had received the aſſiſtance, which he expected from England, he would have pierced far into Spain. But we did nothing, after all the zeal we had expreſſed for retrieving matters on that ſide.

The election of King Charles to be Emperor.

The Emperor's death, as it preſently opened to King Charles the ſucceſſion to the hereditary dominions; ſo a diſpoſition appeared unanimouſly, among all the Electors, to chuſe him Emperor: Yet he ſtaid in Barcelona till September; and then leaving his Queen behind, to ſupport his affairs in Spain, he ſailed over to Italy: He ſtaid ſome weeks at Milan, where the Duke of Savoy came to him; and we were told, that all matters in debate were adjuſted between them. We hoped this campaign would have produced ſomewhat in thoſe parts, of advantage to the common cauſe, upon the agreement made before the Emperor Joſeph's death. And Mr. St. John, when he moved in the Houſe of Commons, for the ſubſidies to the Duke of Savoy, ſaid, all our hopes of ſucceſs this year lay in that quarter; for in Flanders we could do nothing. The Duke came into Savoy, and it was given out that he was reſolved to preſs forward; but upon what views, it was not then known, he ſtopped his courſe; and after a ſhort campaign, repaſſed the mountains.

The election of the Emperor came on at Francfort, where ſome Electors came in perſon, others ſent their deputies; ſome weeks were ſpent in preparing the capitulations; great applications were made to them, to receive deputies from the Electors of Bavaria and Cologne; but they were rejected, for they were under the Ban of the empire; nor were they pleaſed, with the interpoſition of the Pope's Nuntio, who gave them much trouble in that matter; but they perſiſted in refuſing to admit them. Francfort lay ſo near the frontier of the empire, that it was apprehended, the French might have made an attempt that way; for they drew ſome detachments

ments from their army in Flanders, to encreaſe their forces on the Rhine. This obliged Prince Eugene, after he, in conjunction with the Duke of Marlborough, had opened the campaign in Flanders, to draw off a detachment from thence, and march with it towards the Rhine; and there he commanded the imperial army; and came in good time, to ſecure the Electors at Francfort; who being now ſafe, from the fear of any inſult, went on ſlowly in all that they thought fit to propoſe, previous to an election; and concluded unanimouſly to chuſe Charles, who was now declared Emperor by the name of Charles the Sixth: He went from Milan to Inſpruck, and from thence to Francfort, where he was crowned with the uſual ſolemnity. Thus that matter was happily ended, and no action happened on the Rhine all this campaign. 1711.

The Duke of Marlborough's army was not only weakened by the detachment, that Prince Eugene carried to the Rhine, but by the calling over 5000 men of the beſt bodies of his army, for an expedition deſigned by ſea; ſo that the French were ſuperior to him in number: They lay behind lines, that were looked on as ſo ſtrong, that the forcing them was thought an impracticable thing; and it was ſaid, that Villars had wrote to the French King, that he had put a Ne plus ultra to the Duke of Marlborough: But, contrary to all expectation, he did ſo amuſe Villars with feint motions, that at laſt, to the ſurprize of all Europe, he paſſed the lines near Bouchain, without the loſs of a man. The Duke of Marlborough paſſed the French lines.

This raiſed his character, beyond all that he had done formerly; the deſign was ſo well laid, and was ſo happily executed, that in all mens opinions, it paſſed for a maſter-piece of military ſkill; the honour of it falling entirely on the Duke of Marlborough, no other perſon having any ſhare, except in the execution. When our army was now ſo happily got within the French lines, the Dutch deputies propoſed the attacking the French, and venturing a battle,

1711. battle, since this surprize had put them in no small disorder. The Duke of Marlborough differed from them, he thought there might be too much danger in that attempt; the Army was much fatigued with so long a march, in which their cavalry had been eight and forty hours on horse-back, alighting only twice, about an hour at a time, to feed their horses; for they marched eleven leagues in one day: The French were fresh; and our army was in no condition to enter upon action, till some time was allowed for refreshment: And the Duke of Marlborough thought that, in case of a misfortune, their being within the French lines might be fatal.

He besieged Bouchain.

He proposed the besieging Bouchain; which he thought might oblige the French to endeavour to raise the siege; and that might give occasion to their fighting on more equal terms; or it would bring both a disreputation and a disheartening on their army, if a place of such importance should be taken in their sight: Both the Dutch deputies and the general officers thought the design was too bold, yet they submitted to him in the matter: It seemed impracticable to take a place, situated in a morass, well fortified, with a good garrison in it, in the sight of a superior army; for the French lay within a mile of them: There was also great danger from the excursions, that the garrisons of Valenciennes and Condé might make, to cut off their provisions, which were to come to them from Tournay. All about the Duke studied to divert him from so dangerous an undertaking; since a misfortune in his conduct would have furnished his enemies with the advantages, that they waited for. He was sensible of all this, yet he had laid the scheme so well, that he resolved to venture on it: The French tried to throw more men into the place, by a narrow causeway through the morass, but he took his measures so well, that he was guarded against every thing: He saw what the event of the siege might be; so he bestirred himself with

with unuſual application, and was more fatigued in the courſe of this ſiege, than he had been at any time, during the whole war. He carried on the trenches, and by his batteries and bombs the place was ſoon laid in ruins. Villars ſeemed to be very buſy, but to no purpoſe; yet, ſeeing he could not raiſe the ſiege, he tried to ſurprize Doway; but they diſcovered the deſign, and forced the body that was ſent thither, to retreat in all haſte. After twenty days, from the opening the trenches, the garriſon of Bouchain capitulated; and could have no better terms than to be made priſoners of war. As this was reckoned the moſt extraordinary thing in the whole hiſtory of the war, ſo the honour of it was acknowledged to belong wholly to the Duke of Marlborough; as the blame of a miſcarriage in it muſt have fallen ſingly on him. Villars's conduct on this occaſion was much cenſured; but it was approved by the King of France: And with this the campaign ended in thoſe parts. 1711. And took it.

No action happened at ſea, for the French had no fleet out: An expedition was deſigned by ſea for taking Quebec and Placentia; and for that end, 5000 men were brought from Flanders: Hill, who was brother to the favourite, had the command. There was a ſtrong ſquadron of men of war ordered, to ſecure the tranſport fleet; they were furniſhed from hence with proviſions, only for three months; but they deſigned to take in a ſecond ſupply at New England. A commiſſioner of the victualling then told me, he could not gueſs what made them be ſent out ſo ill furniſhed; for they had ſtores, lying on their hands, for a full ſupply. They ſailed, ſoon after the end of the Seſſion, and had a quick paſſage to New England; but were forced to ſtay many weeks on that coaſt, before they could be ſupplied with proviſions: They ſailed near the end of Auguſt into the river of Canada, which was thirty miles broad: But they were ill ſerved with pilots; and at that ſeaſon An expedition by ſea to Canada.

ſtorms

1711. storms were ordinary in those parts: One of these broke upon them, by which several ships were overset, and about 2500 men were lost. Thus the design of Quebeck miscarried; and their provisions were too scanty, to venture an attempt on Placentia: So they returned home unprosperous.

It miscarried.

This was a great mortification to the new Ministry; it being their first undertaking, ill projected, and worse executed, in every step of it: It was the more liable to censure, because at the very time, that the old Ministry were charged with entring on designs, that had not been laid before the Parliament, and for which no supplies had been given, they projected this, even while a Session was yet going on, without communicating it to the Parliament; whereas, what the former Ministry had done this way, was upon emergents, and successes, after the end of the Session: But this matter has not yet been brought under a parliamentary examination, so the discoveries, that may be made if that happens, must be referred to their proper place. This was the state of our affairs during this campaign; the merchants complained of great losses made at sea, by the ill management of convoys and cruizers.

Affairs in Turkey.

The war between the Turk and the Czar came to a quick end: The Czar advanced with his army so far into Moldavia, that he was cut off from his provisions: An engagement followed, in which both sides pretended they had the advantage. It is certain, the Czar found he was reduced to great extremities; for he proposed, in order to a peace, to surrender Azuph, with some other places, and demanded that the King of Sweden might be sent home to his own country. The Grand Vizier was glad to arrive at so speedy a conclusion of the war; and, notwithstanding the great opposition made by the King of Sweden, he concluded a peace with the Muscovite, not without suspicion of his being corrupted by money to it. The King of Sweden being

ing highly offended at this, charged the Grand Vizier, for neglecting the great advantages he had over the Czar, since he and his whole army were at mercy; and he prevailed so far at the Port, that upon it the Grand Vizier was deposed, and there was an appearance of a war ready to break out the next year: For the Czar delayed the rendring Azuph and the other places agreed to be delivered up; pretending that the King of Sweden was not sent home, according to agreement; yet to prevent a new war, all the places were at length delivered up: What effect this may have, must be left to farther time. 1711.

And in Pomerania.

Towards the end of the year the Danes and Saxons broke in by concert upon Pomerania, resolving to besiege Stralzund; but every thing necessary for a siege came so slowly from Denmark, that no progress was made, though the troops lay near the place, for some months; and in that time the Swedes landed a considerable body of men in the isle of Rugen: At last the besiegers, being in want of every thing, were forced to raise the siege, and to retire from that neighbourhood, in the beginning of January. They sate down next before Wismar, but that attempt likewise miscarried, which rendered the conduct of the King of Denmark very contemptible; who thus obstinately carried on a war (at a time that a plague swept away a third part of the people of Copenhagen) with as little conduct as success. Having thus given a short view of affairs abroad;

Harley made an Earl, and Lord Treasurer

I come next to give the best account I can, of a secret and important transaction at home: The Ministers now found, how hard it was to restore credit, and by consequence to carry on the war; Mr. Harley's wound gave the Queen the occasion, which she seemed to be waiting for; upon his recovery she had created him an Earl, by a double title, of Oxford and Mortimer. Preambles to patents of honour usually carry in them a short ac-

1711. count of the dignity of the family, and of the ſervices of the perſon advanced: But his preamble was very pompous, and ſet him out in the moſt extravagant characters that flatterers could invent; in particular it ſaid, that he had redeemed the nation from robbery, had reſtored credit, and had rendered the publick great ſervice in a courſe of many years: All this was ſet out in too fulſome rhetorick, and being prepared by his own direction, pleaſed him ſo much, that whereas all other patents had been only read in the Houſe of Lords, this was printed. He was at the ſame time made Lord Treaſurer, and became the chief, if not ſole Miniſter, for every thing was directed by him. It ſoon appeared, that his ſtrength lay in managing parties, and in engaging weak people by rewards and promiſes, to depend upon him; but that he neither thoroughly underſtood the buſineſs of the treaſury, nor the conduct of foreign affairs. But he truſted to his intereſt in the Queen and in the favourite.

Negotiations for a peace with France.

He ſaw the load, that the carrying on the war muſt bring upon him; ſo he reſolved to ſtrike up a peace as ſoon as was poſſible. The Earl of Jerſey had ſome correſpondence in Paris and at St. Germains, ſo he truſted the conduct of the negotiation to him. The Duke of Newcaſtle, who was Lord Privy Seal, died of an apoplexy in July, being the richeſt ſubject that had been in England for ſome ages; he had an eſtate of above 40,000 l. a year, and was much ſet on increaſing it. Upon his death, it was reſolved, to give the Earl of Jerſey the Privy Seal; but he died ſuddenly the very day in which it was to be given him; upon that it was conferred on Robinſon, Biſhop of Briſtol, who was deſigned to be the Plenipotentiary in the treaty that was projected. One Prior, who had been Jerſey's ſecretary, upon his death, was employed to proſecute that, which the other did not live to finiſh. Prior had been taken a boy out of a tavern, by the Earl of

of Dorſet, who accidentally found him reading Horace; and he, being very generous, gave him an education in literature: He was ſent to the court of France in September, to try on what terms we might expect a peace; his journey was carried on ſecretly; but upon his return, he was ſtopt at Dover; and a packet, that he brought, was kept, till an order came from Court to ſet him free: And by this accident the ſecret broke out. Soon after that, one Meſnager was ſent over from France, with preliminaries; but very different from thoſe, that had been concerted at the Hague, two years before. 1711.

By theſe, the King of France offered, to acknowledge the Queen, and the ſucceſſion to the Crown, according to the preſent ſettlement; and that he would bona fide enter into ſuch meaſures, that the Crowns of France and Spain ſhould never belong to the ſame perſon; that he would ſettle a ſafe and proper barrier to all the Allies; that he would raze Dunkirk, provided an equivalent ſhould be given, for deſtroying the fortifications, he had made there, at ſo great an expence; and that he would procure both to England and to the States the re-eſtabliſhing of their commerce. The Court was then at Windſor: Theſe propoſitions were ſo well entertained at our Court, that a copy of them was ordered to be given to Count Gallas, the Emperor's Miniſter; he treated theſe offers with much ſcorn, and printed the preliminaries in one of our news-papers; ſoon after that, he was ordered to come no more to Court, but to make haſte out of England. Preliminaries offered by France.

The proceeding was ſevere and unuſual; for the common method, when a provocation was given by a publick Miniſter, was to complain of him to his maſter, and to deſire him to be recalled. It was not then known upon what this was grounded; that which was ſurmized was, that his Secretary Gaultier (who was a Prieſt) betrayed him; Count Gallas ſent away with diſgrace.

1711. and discovered his secret correspondence, and the advertisements he sent the Emperor, to give him ill impressions of our Court; for which treachery he was rewarded with an abbey in France: But of this I have no certain information,

Earl of Strafford sent Ambassador to Holland.

When our Court was resolved on this project; they knew the Lord Townshend so well, that they could not depend on his serving their ends; so he was both recalled and disgraced: And the Lord Raby was brought from the Court of Prussia, and advanced to be Earl of Strafford, and sent Ambassador to Holland. It was not then known, how far our Court carried the negotiations with France; it was not certain, whether they only accepted of these preliminaries, as a foundation for a treaty, to be opened upon them; or if any private promise or treaty was signed: This last was very positively given out, both in France and Spain. The very treating, without the concurrence of our Allies, was certainly an open violation of our alliances, which had expressly provided against any such negotiation.

Many libels against the Allies.

Many mercenary pens were set on work, to justify our proceedings, and to defame our Allies, more particularly the Dutch; this was done with much art, but with no regard to truth, in a pamphlet, entitled the Conduct of the Allies, and of the late Ministry; to which very full answers were written, detecting the thread of falshood, that ran through that work. It was now said, England was so exhausted, that it was impossible to carry on the war: And when King Charles was chosen Emperor, it was also said, he would be too great and too dangerous to all his neighbours, if Spain were joined to the Emperor and to the hereditary dominions: It was also zealously, though most falsely, infused into the minds of the people, that our Allies, most particularly the Dutch, had imposed on us, and failed us on many occasions. The Jacobites did, with the greater joy entertain this prof-

pect of peace, becauſe the Dauphin had, in a viſit to St. Germains, congratulated that Court upon it; which made them conclude, that it was to have a happy effect, with relation to the Pretender's affairs. 1711.

Our Court denied this; and ſent the Earl of Rivers to Hanover, to aſſure the Elector, that the Queen would take eſpecial care, to have the ſucceſſion to the Crown ſecured to his family, by the treaty that was to be opened: This made little impreſſion on that Elector; for he ſaw clearly, that if Spain and the Weſt-Indies were left to King Philip, the French would ſoon become the ſuperior power to all the reſt of Europe; that France would keep Spain in ſubjection, and by the wealth they would fetch from the Indies, they would give law to all about them, and ſet what King they pleaſed on the throne of England. Earl Rivers ſtaid a few days there, and brought an anſwer from the Elector in writing; yet the Elector apprehended, not without reaſon, that it might be ſtifled; therefore he ordered his Miniſter to give a full memorial, to the ſame purpoſe, of which our Court took no notice: But the memorial was tranſlated and printed here, to the great ſatisfaction of all thoſe, who were afraid of the ill deſigns, that might be hid, under the pretence of the treaty then propoſed.

Earl Rivers ſent to Hanover, but ſucceeded not.

The Earl of Strafford preſſed the States, to comply with the Queen's deſire, of opening a treaty: They anſwered very ſlowly, being deſirous to ſee how the Parliament was inclined; but the Parliament was prorogued from the 13th to the 29th of November, and from that to the 7th of December. It was alſo reported in Holland, that the Earl of Strafford (ſeeing the States ſlow in granting the paſſports, and upon that apprehending theſe delays flowed from their expecting to ſee, how the Parliament of England approved of theſe ſteps) told them plainly, that till they agreed to a treaty, and granted the paſſports, the Seſſion ſhould not be opened: So they granted them, and left the

The States are forced to open a treaty.

1711. time and place of treaty to the Queen's determination. She named Utrecht as the place of congreſs, and the firſt of January, O. S. for opening it; and wrote a circular letter to all the Allies, inviting them to ſend Plenipotentiaries to that place. The Emperor ſet himſelf vehemently to oppoſe the progreſs of this matter; he ſent Prince Eugene, to diſſuade the States from agreeing to it, and offered a new ſcheme of the war, that ſhould be eaſier to the Allies, and lie heavier on himſelf: But the paſſports were now ſent to the Court of France; that Court demanded paſſports likewiſe, for the Plenipotentiaries of King Philip, and of the Electors of Bavaria and Cologn: This was offered by our Court to the States, they refuſed it, but whether our Miniſters then agreed to it or not, I cannot tell.

Endeavours uſed by the Court before they opened the Parliament.

Before the opening the Seſſion, pains were taken on many perſons, to perſuade them to agree to the meaſures the Court were in; the Duke of Marlborough, upon his coming over, ſpoke very plainly to the Queen againſt the ſteps, that were already made; but he found her ſo poſſeſſed, that what he ſaid made no impreſſion, ſo he deſired to be excuſed from coming to council, ſince he muſt oppoſe every ſtep, that was made in that affair. Among others, the Queen ſpoke to myſelf; ſhe ſaid, ſhe hoped Biſhops would not be againſt peace: I ſaid, a good peace was what we prayed daily for, but the Preliminaries offered by France gave no hopes of ſuch an one; and the truſting to the King of France's faith, after all that had paſſed, would ſeem a ſtrange thing. She ſaid, we were not to regard the Preliminaries; we ſhould have a peace upon ſuch a bottom, that we ſhould not at all rely on the King of France's word; but we ought to ſuſpend our opinion, till ſhe acquainted us with the whole matter. I aſked leave to ſpeak my mind plainly; which ſhe granted: I ſaid, any treaty by which Spain and the Weſt-Indies were left to King Philip, muſt in a little

little while deliver up all Europe into the hands of France; and, if any ſuch peace ſhould be made, ſhe was betrayed, and we were all ruined; in leſs than three years time, ſhe would be murdered, and the fires would be again raiſed in Smithfield: I purſued this long, till I ſaw ſhe grew uneaſy; ſo I withdrew. 1711.

On the ſeventh of December, ſhe opened the Parliament: In her ſpeech ſhe ſaid, notwithſtanding the arts of thoſe who delighted in war, the time and place were appointed for treating a general peace; her allies, eſpecially the States, had by their ready concurrence expreſſed an entire confidence in her; and ſhe promiſed, to do her utmoſt to procure reaſonable ſatisfaction to them all: She demanded of the Houſe of Commons the neceſſary ſupplies, for carrying on the war; and hoped that none would envy her the glory of ending it by a juſt and honourable peace; ſhe in particular recommended unanimity, that our enemies might not think us a divided people, which might prevent that good peace, of which ſhe had ſuch reaſonable hopes, and ſo near a view. The Queen's ſpeech to the two Houſes.

The ſpeech gave occaſion to many reflections; "The arts of thoſe who delighted in war" ſeemed to be levelled at the Duke of Marlborough, and the preliminaries concerted at the Hague; her ſaying, that the allies repoſed an entire confidence in her, amazed all thoſe who knew, that neither the Emperor nor the empire had agreed to the congreſs, but were oppoſing it with great vehemence; and that even the States were far from being cordial or eaſy, in the ſteps that they had made. Reflections on it.

After the ſpeech, a motion was made in the Houſe of Lords, to make an addreſs of thanks to the Queen for her ſpeech; upon this, the Earl of Nottingham did very copiouſly ſet forth the neceſſity of having Spain and the Weſt-Indies out of the hands of a Prince of the Houſe of Bourbon; he moved that, with their addreſs of thanks, they Earl of Nottingham moved, that no peace could be ſafe, unleſs Spain and the Weſt Indies were taken from the Houſe of Bourbon.

1711. ſhould offer that as their advice to the Queen; he ſet forth the miſery that all Europe, but England moſt particularly, muſt be under, if the Weſt-Indies came into a French management; and that King Philip's poſſeſſing them was, upon the matter, the putting them into the hands of France. This was much oppoſed by the Miniſters; they moved the referring that matter to another occaſion, in which it might be fully debated; but ſaid, it was not fit to clog the addreſs with it. Some officious courtiers ſaid, that ſince peace and war belonged, as prerogatives to the Crown, it was not proper to offer any advice in thoſe matters, 'till it was aſked: But this was rejected with indignation, ſince it was a conſtant practice in all ſeſſions of Parliament, to offer advices; no prerogative could be above advice; this was the end ſpecified in the writ, by which a Parliament was ſummoned; nor was the motion for a delay received. The eyes of all Europe were upon the preſent ſeſſion; and this was a poſt-night: So it was fit they ſhould come to a preſent reſolution, in a matter of ſuch importance. The queſtion was put, whether this advice ſhould be part of the addreſs; and the previous queſtion being firſt put, it was carried by one voice to put it; and the main queſtion was carried by three voices: ſo this point was gained, though by a ſmall majority. The ſame motion was made in the Houſe of Commons, but was rejected by a great majority; yet in other reſpects their addreſs was well couched: for they ſaid, they hoped for a juſt, honourable, and laſting peace, to her Majeſty and to all her allies.

Agreed to by the Lords.

When the addreſs of the Lords was reported to the Houſe, by the committee appointed to prepare it, the Court tried to get the whole matter to be conteſted over again, pretending that the debate was not now, upon the matter, debated the day before, but only whether they ſhould agree to the draught, prepared by the committee: But that part of it, which contained the advice, was conceived in the very

very words, in which the vote had paſſed; and it was a ſtanding rule, that what was once voted, could never again be brought into queſtion, during that ſeſſion. This was ſo ſacred a rule, that many of thoſe, who voted with the Court the day before, expreſſed their indignation againſt it, as ſubverting the very conſtitution of Parliaments, if things might be thus voted and unvoted again, from day to day: Yet even upon this a diviſion was called for, but the majority appearing ſo evidently againſt the motion, it was yielded, without counting the Houſe. 1711.

When the addreſs was preſented to the Queen, her anſwer was; ſhe was ſorry, that any ſhould think, ſhe would not do her utmoſt to hinder Spain and the Weſt-Indies from remaining in the hands of a Prince of the Houſe of Bourbon: And the Lords returned her thanks for this gracious anſwer; for they underſtood, by the doing her utmoſt, was meant the continuing the war. The Court was much troubled to ſee the Houſe of Lords ſo backward; and both ſides ſtudied to fortify themſelves, by bringing up their friends, or by getting their proxies. The Queen's anſwer.

The next motion was made by the Earl of Nottingham, for leave to bring in a bill againſt occaſional conformity: He told thoſe, with whom he now joined, that he was but one man come over to them, unleſs he could carry a bill to that effect; but, if they would give way to that, he hoped he ſhould be able to bring many to concur with them in other things. They yielded this the more eaſily, becauſe they knew that the Court had offered, to the high men in the Houſe of Commons, to carry any bill that they ſhould deſire in that matter: The Earl of Nottingham promiſed to draw it with all poſſible temper. It was thus prepared; that all perſons in places of profit and truſt, and all the common-council men in corporations, who ſhould be at any meeting for divine worſhip (where there were above ten perſons, more than the family) in which the common prayer A bill againſt occaſional conformity.

1711. was not uſed, or where the Queen and the Princeſs Sophia were not prayed for, ſhould upon conviction forfeit their place of truſt or profit, the witneſſes making oath within ten days, and the proſecution being within three months after the offence; and ſuch perſons were to continue incapable of any imployment, 'till they ſhould depoſe, that for a whole year together they had been at no conventicle. The bill did alſo enact, that the toleration ſhould remain inviolable, in all time to come; and that if any perſon ſhould be brought into trouble, for not having obſerved the rules, that were preſcribed by the act that firſt granted the toleration, all ſuch proſecution ſhould ceaſe, upon their taking the oath preſcribed by that act: and a teacher, licenſed in any one county, was by the bill qualified, to ſerve in any licenſed meeting in any part of England; and by another clauſe, all who were concerned in the practice of the law in Scotland were required to take the Abjuration, in the month of June next.

Paſſed without oppoſition.

No oppoſition was made to this in the Houſe of Lords; ſo it paſſed in three days; and it had the ſame fate in the Houſe of Commons; only they added a penalty on the offender of forty pounds, which was to be given to the informer: and ſo it was offered to the royal aſſent, with the bill for four ſhillings in the pound. Great reflections were made on the fate of this bill, which had been formerly ſo much conteſted, and was ſo often rejected by the Lords, and now went through both Houſes, in ſo ſilent a manner, without the leaſt oppoſition: Some of the diſſenters complained much, that they were thus forſaken by their friends, to whom they had truſted; and the Court had agents among them, to inflame their reſentments, ſince they were ſacrificed by thoſe, on whom they depended. All the excuſe that the whigs made, for their eaſineſs in this matter, was, that they gave way to it, to try how far the yielding it might go toward quieting the fears of thoſe, who ſeemed to think the church was

ſtill

ſtill in danger, 'till that act paſſed; and thereby to engage theſe, to concur with them, in thoſe important matters that might come before them. It muſt be left to time to ſhew, what good effect this act may have on the church, or what bad ones it may have on diſſenters. 1711.

The next point that occaſioned a great debate in the Houſe of Lords, which was eſpouſed by the Court with great zeal, was a patent creating Duke Hamilton a Duke in England: lawyers were heard for the patent, the Queen's prerogative in conferring honours was clear; all the ſubjects of the united kingdom had likewiſe a capacity of receiving honour; the Commons of Scotland had it unqueſtionably; and it ſeemed a ſtrange aſſertion, that the Peers of that nation ſhould be the only perſons, incapable of receiving honour: By the act of union the Peers of Scotland were, by virtue of that treaty, to have a repreſentation of ſixteen, for their whole body; theſe words, by virtue of that treaty, ſeemed to intimate, that by creation or ſucceſſion they might be made capable. And, in the debate that followed in the Houſe, the Scotch Lords, who had been of the treaty, affirmed that theſe words were put in on that deſign: And upon this, they appealed to the Engliſh Lords: This was denied by none of them. It was alſo urged, that the Houſe of Lords had already judged the matter, when they not only received the Duke of Queenſbury, upon his being created Duke of Dover; but had ſo far affirmed his being a Peer of Great Britain, that upon that account, they had denied him the right of voting in the election of the ſixteen Peers of Scotland. But in oppoſition to all this, it was ſaid, that the prerogative could not operate when it was barred by an act of Parliament; the act of union had made all the Peers of Scotland, Peers of Great Britain, as to all intents, except the voting in the Houſe of Lords, or ſitting in judgment on a Peer; and as to their voting, that was veſted in their repreſentatives, by whom

Duke Hamilton's patent examined.

1711. whom they voted: The Queen might give them what titles ſhe pleaſed; but this incapacity of voting otherwiſe than by theſe ſixteen, being ſettled by law, the prerogative was by that limited as to them: They had indeed admitted the Duke of Queenſbury to ſit among them, as Duke of Dover; but that matter was never brought into debate; ſo it was only paſſed over in ſilence: And he was mentioned in their books, upon the occaſion of his voting in the choice of the ſixteen Peers of Scotland, in terms that were far from determining this; for it was there ſaid, that he claiming to be Duke of Dover, could not vote as a Scotch Peer. The Scotch Lords inſiſted, in arguing for the patent, with great vehemence, not without intimations of the diſmal effects, that might follow, if it ſhould go in the negative. The Court put their whole ſtrength to ſupport the patent; this heightened the zeal of thoſe, who oppoſed it: For they apprehended, that conſidering the dignity and the antiquity of the Scotch Peers, and the poverty of the greater part of them, the Court would always have recourſe to this, as a ſure expedient to have a conſtant majority in the Houſe of Lords. There was no limitation indeed on the prerogative, as to the creation of new Peers, yet theſe were generally men of eſtates, who could not be kept in a conſtant dependence, as ſome of the Scotch Lords might be.

Judged againſt him.

The Queen heard all the debate, which laſted ſome hours; in concluſion, when it came to the final vote, fifty-two voted for the patent, and fifty-ſeven againſt it. The Queen and the Miniſters ſeemed to be much concerned at this, and the Scotch were enraged at it: They met together, and ſigned a repreſentation to the Queen, complaining of it as a breach of the union, and a mark of diſgrace put on the whole Peers of Scotland, adding ſolemn promiſes of maintaining her prerogative, either in an united or ſeparated ſtate. This made the Miniſters reſolve on another method to let the Peers, and indeed

deed the whole world ſee, that they would have that House kept in a conſtant dependence on the Court, by creating ſuch a number of Peers at once, as ſhould give them an unqueſtionable majority. On the twenty-ſecond of December the bill for four ſhillings in the pound was ready for the royal aſſent; yet the Houſe of Commons adjourned to the fourteenth of January, which was a long receſs in ſo critical a time. 1711.

A motion was made in the Houſe of Lords, by the Duke of Devonſhire, for leave to bring in a bill, to give the Prince Electoral of Hanover, as Duke of Cambridge, the precedence of all Peers; this was granted, and ſo was like to meet with no oppoſition. The Earl of Nottingham moved next, that before their receſs, they ſhould make an addreſs to the Queen, deſiring her to order her plenipotentiaries to concert, with the Miniſters of the allies, the grounds upon which they were to proceed in their treaties, and to agree on a mutual guaranty to ſecure them to us, as well as to all Europe, and in particular to ſecure the proteſtant ſucceſſion to England. All the oppoſition that the Court made to this was, to ſhew it was needleſs, for it was already ordered: And the Lord Treaſurer ſaid, the Lords might, in order to their ſatisfaction, ſend to examine their inſtructions. To this it was anſwered, that the offering ſuch an addreſs would fortify the plenipotentiaries, in executing their inſtructions. The Court moved, that theſe words might be put in the addreſs, "if the Queen had not ordered it;" ſo, this being agreed to, the thing paſſed; and the Lords adjourned to the ſecond of January.

The Lords addreſs that our allies might be carried along with us in the treaty.

But a new ſcene was ready to be opened in the Houſe of Commons; the commiſſionrs for examining the publick accounts made ſome diſcoveries, upon which they intended to proceed, at their next meeting. Walpole, who had been ſecretary of war, and who had appeared with great firmneſs in the defence of the late Miniſtry, was firſt aimed at; a bill had been remitted to him of 500 *l.* by thoſe

Diſcoveries of bribery pretended.

1711. thoſe who had contracted to forage the troops, that lay in Scotland; this made way to a matter of more importance: A Jew, concerned in the contract for furniſhing bread to the army in Flanders, made a preſent yearly to the Duke of Marlborough of between 5 and 6000 *l.* The General of the States had the like preſent, as a perquiſite to ſupport his dignity, and to enable him to procure intelligence: The Queen ordered 10000 *l.* a-year more to the Duke of Marlborough, for the ſame ſervice: The late King had alſo agreed, that two and a half per Cent. ſhould be deducted out of the pay of the foreign troops, which amounted to 15000 *l.* This the Queen had by a warrant appointed the Duke of Marlborough to receive, on the ſame account.

The Duke of Marlborough aimed at.

He heard his enemies had diſcovered the preſent, made him by the Jew, while he was beyond ſea; ſo he wrote to them, and owned the whole matter to be true, and added, that he had applied theſe ſums to the procuring good intelligence, to which, next to the bleſſing of God and the bravery of the troops, their conſtant ſucceſſes were chiefly owing. This did not ſatisfy the commiſſioners; but, though no complaints were brought from the army, of their not being conſtantly ſupplied with good bread, yet they ſaw here was matter to raiſe a clamour, which they chiefly aimed at; ſo this was reported to the Houſe of Commons before their receſs.

He is turned out of all his imployments.

A few days after this, the Queen wrote him a letter, complaining of the ill treatment ſhe received from him, and diſcharged him of all his imployments: This was thought very extraordinary, after ſuch long and eminent ſervices; ſuch accidents, when they happen, ſhew the inſtability of all human things; this was indeed ſo little expected, that thoſe who looked for precedents, could find none ſince the diſgrace of Beliſarius in Juſtinian's time: The only thing pretended to excuſe it was, his being conſidered as the head of thoſe, who oppoſed

poſed the peace, on which the Court ſeemed to ſet their hearts. 1711.

But they, finding the majority of the Houſe of Lords could not be brought to favour their deſigns, reſolved to make an experiment, that none of our Princes had ventured on in former times: A reſolution was taken up very ſuddenly of making twelve Peers all at once; three of theſe were called up by writ, being eldeſt ſons of Peers: and nine more were created by patent. Sir Miles Wharton, to whom it was offered, refuſed it: He thought it looked like the ſerving a turn; and that, whereas Peers were wont to be made for ſervices they had done, he would be made for ſervices to be done by him; ſo he excuſed himſelf, and the favourite's huſband, Mr. Maſham, was put in his room. And whereas formerly Jefferies had the vanity to be made a Peer, while he was Chief Juſtice, which had not been practiſed for ſome ages; yet the precedent ſet by him was followed, and Trevor, Chief Juſtice of the Common Pleas, was now advanced to be a Peer. This was looked upon as an undoubted part of the prerogative; ſo there was no ground in law to oppoſe the receiving the new Lords into the houſe: Nor was it poſſible to raiſe, in the ancient Peers, a ſenſe of the indignity that was now put upon their houſe; ſince the Court did by this openly declare, that they were to be kept in abſolute ſubmiſſion and obedience. Twelve new Peers made.

When the ſecond of January came, they were all introduced into the Houſe of Lords without any oppoſition; and when that was over, the Lord Keeper delivered a meſſage from the Queen, commanding them to adjourn forthwith to the fourteenth; for by that time her Majeſty would lay matters of great importance before the two houſes. Upon this a great debate aroſe; it was ſaid, that the Queen could not ſend a meſſage to any one houſe to adjourn, when the like meſſage was not 1712. The Queen's meſſage to the Lords to adjourn, diſputed, but obeyed.

1712. ſent to both houſes: The pleaſure of the Prince, in convening, diſſolving, proroguing, or ordering the adjournment of Parliaments, was always directed to both houſes; but never to any one houſe, without the ſame intimation was made, at the ſame time, to the other. The conſequence of this, if allowed, might be the ordering one houſe to adjourn, while the other was left to ſit ſtill; and this might end in a total disjointing of the conſtitution: The vote was carried for adjourning by the weight of the twelve new Peers. It is true, the odds in the books is thirteen; but that was, becauſe one of the Peers, who had a proxy, without reflecting on it, went away when the proxies were called for.

Prince Eugene came to England.

At this time Prince Eugene was ſent by the Emperor to England, to try if it was poſſible to engage our Court, to go on with the war; offering a new ſcheme, by which he took a much larger ſhare of it on himſelf, than the late Emperor would bear. That Prince's character was ſo juſtly high, that all people for ſome weeks preſſed about the places, where he was to be ſeen, to look on him; I had the honour to be admitted at ſeveral times, to much diſcourſe with him; his character is ſo univerſally known, that I will ſay nothing of him, but from what appeared to myſelf. He has a moſt unaffected modeſty, and does ſcarcely bear the acknowledgments that all the world pay him: He deſcends to an eaſy equality with thoſe, with whom he converſes; and ſeems to aſſume nothing to himſelf, while he reaſons with others: He was treated with great reſpect by both parties; but he put a diſtinguiſhed reſpect on the Duke of Marlborough, with whom he paſſed moſt of his time. The Queen uſed him civilly, but not with the diſtinction that was due to his high merit: Nor did he gain much ground with the Miniſters.

A meſſage to both houſes.

When the fourteenth of January came, the houſes were ordered to adjourn to the eighteenth, and then a meſſage was ſent to both houſes; the Queen told them,

them, the congreſs was opened, and that ſhe would ſet a day for ending it, as well as ſhe had done for opening it. She had ordered her Plenipotentiaries, to agree with the Miniſters of her allies, according to all her treaties with them, to obtain reaſonable ſatisfaction to their demands; in particular concerning Spain and the Weſt Indies; by which, the falſe reports of ill-deſigning men, who, for evil ends, had reported that a ſeparate peace was treated, would appear, for there was never the leaſt colour given for this. She alſo promiſed, that the articles of the treaty ſhould be laid before the houſes, before any thing ſhould be concluded. Upon this, the Houſe of Lords agreed to an addreſs, thanking her Majeſty, for communicating this to them, and for the promiſes ſhe had made them, repeating the words in which they were made: It was moved to add the words, conform to her alliance; but it was ſaid, the Queen aſſured them of that, ſo the repeating theſe words ſeemed to intimate a diſtruſt; and that was not carried. But, becauſe there ſeemed to be an ambiguity in the mention made of Spain and the Weſt-Indies, the houſe expreſſed, in what ſenſe they underſtood them, by adding theſe words, which were of the greateſt importance to the ſafety and commerce of theſe nations. The Commons made an addreſs to the ſame purpoſe, in which they only named Spain and the Weſt-Indies. 1712.

A bill giving precedence to the houſe of Hanover.

The Lord Treaſurer prevented the Duke of Devonſhire, who had prepared a bill for giving precedence to the Duke of Cambridge; for he offered a bill, giving precedence to the whole electoral family, as the children and nephews of the Crown; and it was intimated, that bills relating to honours and precedence ought to come from the Crown: The Duke of Devonſhire would make no diſpute on this head; if the thing paſſed, he acquieſced in the manner of paſſing it, only he thought it lay within the authority of the houſe.

On

1712. On this occaſion, the Court ſeemed, even to an affectation, to ſhew a particular zeal in promoting this bill: For it paſſed through both houſes in two days, it being read thrice in a day, in them both. For all this haſte, the Court did not ſeem to deſign any ſuch bill, till it was propoſed by others, out of whoſe hands they thought fit to take it. There were two other articles, in the Queen's meſſage; by the one, ſhe deſired their advice and aſſiſtance, to quiet the uneaſineſs, that the Peers of Scotland were under, by the judgment lately given: By the other, ſhe complained of the licence of the preſs, and deſired ſome reſtraint might be put upon it.

Debates concerning the Scotch Peers.

The Lords entred upon the conſideration of that part of the Queen's meſſage, that related to the Peers of Scotland; and it took up almoſt a whole week. The Court propoſed, that an expedient might be found, that the Peers of Scotland ſhould not ſit among them by election, but by deſcent in caſe the reſt of the Peers of that nation ſhould conſent to it: A debate followed concerning the articles of the union, which of them were fundamental and not alterable; it was ſaid, that by the union, no private right could be taken away, but by the conſent of the perſons concerned; therefore no alteration could be made in the right of the Peers of Scotland, unleſs they conſented to it. It was afterwards debated, whether an alteration might be made with this condition, in caſe they ſhould conſent to it; or whether the firſt riſe to any ſuch alteration ought not to be given, by a previous deſire. This was not ſo ſubject to an ill management; the Court ſtudied to have a ſubſequent conſent received as ſufficient; but a previous deſire was inſiſted on, as viſibly fairer and juſter.

Walpole's caſe and cenſure.

The Houſe of Commons, after the receſs, entred on the obſervations of the commiſſioners for taking the publick accounts; and began with Walpole, whom they reſolved to put out of the way of diſturbing them in the houſe. The thing laid

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his charge ſtood thus; after he, as Secretary of war, had contracted with ſome for forrage to the horſe, that lay in Scotland; he, finding that the two perſons who contracted for it made ſome gain by it, named a friend of his own as a third perſon, that he might have a ſhare in the gain; but the other two had no mind to let him in, to know the ſecret of their management; ſo they offered him 500 *l.* for his ſhare; he accepted of it, and the money was remitted. But they, not knowing his addreſs, directed their bill to Walpole, who endorſed it, and the perſon concerned received the money; this was found out, and Walpole was charged with it as a bribe, that he had taken for his own uſe, for making the contract. Both the Perſons that remitted the money, and he who received it were examined, and affirmed that Walpole was neither directly nor indirectly concerned in the matter; but the houſe inſiſted upon his having endorſed the bill, and not only voted this a corruption, but ſent him to the tower, and expelled him the houſe. 1712.

The cenſure put on the Duke of Marlborough.

The next attack was on the Duke of Marlborough: The money received from the Jew, was ſaid to be a fraud; and that, deducted out of the pay of the foreign troops, was ſaid to be publick money, and to be accounted for: The debate held long; it appeared, that during the former war, King William had 50000 *l.* a-year for contingencies: It was often reckoned to have coſt much more. The contingency was that ſervice, which could be brought to no certain head, and was chiefly for procuring intelligence; the Duke of Marlborough had only 10000 *l.* for the contingencies; and that and all the other items joined together, amounted but to 30000 *l.* a ſum much inferior to what had been formerly given; and yet, with this moderate expence, he had procured ſo good intelligence, that he was never ſurprized, and no party he ſent out was ever intercepted or cut off.

1712. By means of this intelligence, all his designs were so well concerted, that he succeeded in every one of them, and by many instances, the exactness of his intelligence was fully demonstrated. It was proved, both by witnesses, and by formal attestations from Holland, that ever since the year 1672, the Jews had made the like present to the General of the States army; and it was understood as a perquisite belonging to that command: No bargain was made with the Jews for the English troops, that made by the States being applied to them; so that it appeared, that the making such a present to the General was customary; but that was denied: And they voted, the taking that present to be illegal; and, though he had the Queen's warrant to receive the sixpence in the pound, or two and a half per Cent. deducted from the pay of the foreign troops, yet that was voted to be unwarrantable, and that it ought to be accounted for. The Court espoused this with such zeal, and paid so well for it, that it was carried by a great majority: Upon this, many virulent writers (whether set on to it, or officiously studying to merit by it, did not appear) threw out, in many defamatory libels, a great deal of their malice against the Duke of Marlborough: They compared him to Catiline, to Crassus, and to Anthony; and studied to represent him as a robber of the nation, and as a publick enemy. This gave an indignation to all, who had a sense of gratitude, or a regard to justice; in one of these scurrilous papers, wrote on design to raise the rabble against him, one of the periods began thus, He was perhaps once fortunate. I took occasion to let Prince Eugene see the spite of these writers, and mentioned this passage; upon which he made this pleasant reflection, That it was the greatest commendation could be given him, since he was always successful; so this implied, that in one single instance he might be fortunate, but that all his other successes were owing to his conduct. I upon

Many libels against him.

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that ſaid, that ſingle inſtance muſt be then his eſcaping out of the hands of the party, that took him, when he was ſailing down the Maeſe in the boat. But their ill-will reſted not in defamation; the Queen was prevailed on to ſend an order to the attorney-general, to proſecute him for the 15000 *l.* that was deducted yearly out of the pay of the foreign troops, which he had received by her own warrant: But what this will end in, muſt be left to time. 1712.

The Duke of Ormond was now declared General, and had the firſt regiment of guards; and the Earl of Rivers was made maſter of the ordnance.

His innocence appeared evidently.

Secret enquiries were made, in order to the laying more load on the Duke of Marlborough, and to ſee whether poſts in the army, or in the guards were ſold by him; but nothing could be found: He had ſuffered a practice to go on, that had been begun in the late King's time, of letting officers ſell their commiſſions; but he had never taken any part of the price to himſelf: Few thought that he had been ſo clear in that matter; for it was the only thing, in which his enemies were confident, that ſome diſcoveries would have been made to his prejudice; ſo that the endeavours uſed, to ſearch into thoſe matters, producing nothing, raiſed the reputation of his incorrupt adminiſtration, more than all his well-wiſhers could have expected. Thus happy does ſometimes the malice of an enemy prove! In this whole tranſaction we ſaw a new ſcene of ingratitude, acted in a moſt imprudent manner; when the man, to whom the nation owed more, than it had ever done in any age to any ſubject, or perhaps to any perſon whatſoever, was for ſome months purſued with ſo much malice: He bore it with ſilence and patience, with an exterior that ſeemed always calm and cheerful; and, though he prepared a full vindication of himſelf, yet he delayed publiſhing it, 'till the nation ſhould return to its ſenſes, and be capable of

1712. examining these matters, in a more impartial manner.

The Scotch Lords put in good hopes.

The Scotch Lords, seeing no redress to their complaint, seemed resolved to come no more to sit in the House of Peers; but the Court was sensible, that their strength in that house consisted chiefly in them, and in the new Peers: So pains were taken, and secret forcible arguments were used to them, which proved so effectual, that after a few days absence, they came back, and continued, during the session, to sit in the house. They gave it out, that an expedient would be found, that would be to the satisfaction of the Peers of Scotland: But nothing of that appearing, it was concluded that the satisfaction was private, and personal. The great arrear, into which all the regular payments, both of the houshold and of salaries and pensions was left to run, made it to be generally believed, that the income for the civil list, though it exceeded the establishment very far, was applied to other payments, which the Ministers durst not own. And though secret practice on members had been of a great while too common, yet it was believed, that it was at this time managed, with an extraordinary profusion.

Those, who were suspected to have very bad designs, applied themselves with great industry to drive on such bills, as they hoped would give the Presbyterians in Scotland such alarms, as might dispose them to remonstrate, that the union was broken. They passed not all at once; but I shall lay them together, because one and the same design was pursued in them all.

A toleration to the English liturgy in Scotland.

A toleration was proposed for the episcopal clergy, who would use the liturgy of the church of England; this seemed so reasonable, that no opposition was made to it: One clause put in it, occasioned great complaints; the magistrates, who by the laws were obliged to execute the sentences of the judicatories of their Kirk, were by this act required,

required, to execute none of them. It was reasonable to require them to execute no ſentences, that might be paſſed on any, for doing what was tolerated by this act; but the carrying this to a general clauſe, took away the civil ſanction, which in moſt places is looked on as the chief, if not the only ſtrength of church power. Thoſe, who were to be thus tolerated, were required, by a day limited in the act, to take the oath of abjuration; it was well known, that few, if any of them, would take that oath; ſo to cover them from it, a clauſe was put in this act, requiring all the Preſbyterian Miniſters to take it; ſince it ſeemed reaſonable, that thoſe of the legal Eſtabliſhment ſhould be required to take that, which was now to be impoſed on thoſe, who were only to be tolerated. It was well underſtood, that there were words in the oath of abjuration, to which the Preſbyterians excepted. In the act of ſucceſſion, one of the conditions on which the ſucceſſor was to be received, was, his being of the communion of the church of England; and by the oath of abjuration, the ſucceſſion was ſworn to, as limited by that act: The word limitation imported only the entail of the Crown; but it was ſuggeſted that the particle as, related to all the conditions in that act. This was ſpread among ſo many of that perſuaſion, that it was believed a great party among them would refuſe to take it: So a ſmall alteration was made by the Houſe of Lords of theſe words, as was limited, into words of the ſame ſenſe, which was limited; but thoſe who intended to excuſe the epiſcopal party, who they knew were in the Pretender's intereſts, from taking the oath, were for keeping in thoſe words, which the Preſbyterians ſcrupled. The Commons accordingly diſagreed to the amendment made by the Lords; and they receding from it, the bill paſs'd, as it had been ſent up from the Commons. Another act paſſed for diſcontinuing the Courts of judicature,

1712.

Deſigns to provoke the Preſbyterians there.

1712. during some days at Christmas, though the observing of holidays was contrary to their principles: This was intended only to irritate them.

Patronages restored.

After that, an act was brought in, for the restoring of patronages; these had been taken away by an act in King William's reign; it was set up by the Presbyterians, from their first beginning, as a principle, that parishes had, from warrants in scripture, a right to chuse their Ministers; so that they had always looked on the right of patronage, as an invasion made on that: it was therefore urged, that since, by the act of union, Presbytery, with all it's rights and privileges, was unalterably secured, and since their kirk-session was a branch of their constitution, the taking from them the right of chusing their Ministers was contrary to that act: Yet the bill passed through both Houses, a small opposition being only made in either. By these steps the Presbyterians were alarmed, when they saw the success of every motion that was made, on design to weaken and undermine their establishment.

The barier treaty.

Another matter, of a more publick nature, was at this time set on foot; both Houses of Parliament had in the year 1709, agreed in an address to the Queen, that the Protestant succession might be secured by a guaranty, in the treaty of peace; and this was settled at the Hague, to be one of the preliminaries: But when an end was put to the conferences at Gertruydenberg, the Lord Townshend was ordered to set on foot a treaty with the States to that effect. They entertained it readily; but at the same time they proposed, that England should enter into a guaranty with them, to maintain their barrier; which consisted of some places they were to garrison, the sovereignty of which was still in the crown of Spain; and of other places, which had not belonged to that crown, at the death of King Charles the Second, but had been taken in the progress of the war: for, by their agreements with us, they bore the charge of the sieges, and so the places taken were

to

to belong to them: These were chiefly Lisle, Tournay, Menin, and Doway; and were to be kept still by them. But as for those places, which, from the time of the treaty of the Pyrenees, belonged to the Spaniards; they had been so ill looked after, by the Spanish Governors of Flanders, who were more set on enriching themselves, and keeping a magnificent court at Brussels, than on preserving the country; that neither were the fortifications kept in due repair, nor the magazines furnished, nor the soldiers paid: So that whensoever a war broke out, the French made themselves very easily masters of places so ill kept. The States had therefore proposed, during this war, that the sovereignty of those places should continue still to belong to the crown of Spain; but they should keep garrisons in the strongest and the most exposed, in particular those that lay on the Lys and the Scheld; and for the maintaining this, they asked 100000 l. a-year from those provinces; by which means they would be kept better and cheaper than ever they had been, while they were in the hands of the Spaniards: They also asked a free passage for all the stores, that they should send to those places. This seemed to be so reasonable, that since the interest of England, as well as of the States, required that this frontier should be carefully maintained, the Ministry were ready to hearken to it: It was objected, that in case of a war between England and the States, the trade of those provinces would be wholly in the hands of the Dutch; but this had been settled in the great truce, which, by the mediation of France and England, was made between the Spaniards and the States: There was a provisional order therein made, for the freedom of trade in those provinces; and that was turned to a perpetual one, by the peace of Munster. King Charles of Spain had agreed to the main of the barrier; some places on the Scheld were not necessary for a frontier, but the States insisted on them, as necessary to maintain a communication with the 1712.

1712. frontier: the King of Prussia excepted likewise to some places in the Spanish Guelder. The Lord Townshend thought, that these were such inconsiderable objections, that though his instructions did not come up to every particular, yet he signed the treaty, known by the name of the Barrier Treaty: By it the States bound themselves to maintain the Queen's title to her dominions and the protestant succession, with their whole force: and England was reciprocally bound to assist them in maintaining this barrier.

It was complained of.

The mercenary writers, that were hired to defend the peace, then projected with France, attacked this treaty with great virulence, and by arguments that gave just suspicions of black designs: They said, it was a disgrace to this nation, to engage any other state to secure the succession among us, which perhaps we might see cause to alter: Whereas by this treaty, the States had an authority given them, to interpose in our Counsels. It was also said, that if the States were put in possession of all those strong towns, they might shut us out from any share of trade in them, and might erect our manufactures in provinces, very capable of them: But it was answered, that this could not be done, as long as this treaty continued in force, unless the Sovereign of the country should join with them against us. Some objected to the settlement made at Munster, as a transaction when we were in such confusion at home, that we had no Minister there; but that treaty had only rendred the truce, and the provisional settlement made before, by the mediation of England, perpetual; and we had since acquiesced in that settlement for above sixty years. By examining into the particulars of the treaty it appeared, that in some inconsiderable matters the Lord Townshend had gone beyond the letter of his instructions, in which he had so fully satisfied the Ministry, that though upon his first signing it, some exceptions had been taken, yet these were passed over, and the treaty was ratified in form.

But

But the preſent Miniſtry had other views: They 1712.
deſigned to ſet the Queen at liberty from her engagements by theſe alliances, and to diſengage her from treaties. The Houſe of Commons went now very haſtily into ſeveral reſolutions, that were very injurious to the States: they pretended, they had failed in the performance of all agreements, with relation to the ſervice, both at ſea and land; and the troops, that were to have been furniſhed in Portugal and Savoy, as well as the ſubſidies due to thoſe Princes. They fell next on the Barrier Treaty; they gave it out, that the old Miniſtry deſigned to bring over an army from Holland, whenſoever they ſhould, for other ends, pretend that the Proteſtant ſucceſſion was in danger; and it was ſaid, there was no need of any foreign aſſiſtance to maintain it. In the debate, it was inſiſted on, that it could be maintained ſafely no other way; it was not to be doubted, but the King of France would aſſiſt the Pretender; England was not inclined to keep up a ſtanding army, in time of peace, to reſiſt him: So that we could not be ſo ſafe any other way, as by having the States engaged, to ſend over their army, if it ſhould be neceſſary. But reaſon is a feeble thing, to bear down reſolutions already taken; ſo the Houſe of Commons voted the treaty diſhonourable, and injurious to England; and that the Lord Townſhend had gone beyond his inſtructions in ſigning it; and that he and all, who had adviſed and ratified that treaty, were publick enemies to the kingdom. Theſe votes were carried by a great majority, and were looked on as ſtrange preludes to a peace. When the States heard, what exceptions were taken to the Barrier Treaty, they wrote a very reſpectful letter to the Queen, in which they offered to explain or mollify any part of it, that was wrong underſtood; but the managers of the Houſe of Commons got all their votes to be digeſted, into a well-compoſed inflaming repreſentation, which was laid before the Queen; by it all the allies, but moſt particularly

And condemned by the Houſe of Lords.

1712. cularly the States, were charged for having failed in many particulars, contrary to their engagements: They alſo laid before the Queen the votes they had made, with relation to the Barrier Treaty; and that they might name a great ſum, that would make a deep impreſſion on the nation (which was ready to receive all things implicitly from them) they ſaid England had been, during the war, overcharged nineteen millions, beyond what they ought to have paid; all which was caſt on the old Miniſtry.

The States juſtify themſelves.

The States in anſwer to all this, drew up a large memorial, in which every particular in the repreſentation was examined, and fully anſwered: They ſent it over to their envoy, who preſented it to the Queen; but no notice was taken of it; the end was already ſerved; and the entring into a diſcuſſion about it, could have no other effect, but to confound thoſe who drew it. The two firſt heads of the States memorial, that related to the ſervice at ſea and in Flanders, were printed here, and contained a full anſwer to all that was charged on them as to thoſe matters; to the ample conviction of all who examined the particulars. The Houſe of Commons ſaw the effect this was like to have; ſo they voted it a falſe, malicious, ſcandalous, and injurious paper, and that the printing it was a breach of privilege: And to ſtop the printing the other heads, they put the printer in priſon; this was a confutation, to which no reply could be made; yet it ſeemed to be a confeſſion, that their repreſentation could not be juſtified, when the anſwer to it was ſo carefully ſtifled. The Houſe of Commons went next to repeal the naturalization act, in which they met with no oppoſition.

The ſelf-denying bill loſt.

The ſelf-denying bill was brought into the Houſe of Commons, and, as was ordinary, it paſſed eaſily there: the ſcandal of corruption was now higher than ever; for it was believed men were not only bribed for a whole ſeſſion, but had new bribes for particular votes. The twelve new Peers being brought

into the Houſe of Lords, had irritated ſo many there, that for two days, by all the judgments that could be made of the Houſe, the bill was likely to have paſſed that Houſe: But upon ſome prevailing arguments, ſecretly and dextrouſly applied to ſome Lords, an Alteration was made in it, by which it was loſt: For whereas the bill, as it ſtood, was to take place after the determination of the preſent Parliament, this was altered, ſo as that it ſhould take place after the demiſe of the Queen; ſo it was no more thought on. 1712.

The Houſe of Commons voted two millions to be raiſed by a lottery; for which a fund was created that might pay both principal and intereſt in thirty-two years.

I look next to Utrecht, where the treaty was opened: The Emperor and the empire ſent their Miniſters very late and unwillingly thither; but they ſubmitted to the neceſſity of their affairs; yet with this condition, that the French propoſals (for ſo the propoſitions, that were formerly called preliminaries, came to be named) ſhould be no ground to proceed on; and that a new treaty ſhould be entred on, without any regard to them. It was alſo agreed, to ſave the loſs of time in ſettling the ceremonial, that the plenipotentiaries ſhould aſſume no character of dignity, 'till all matters were adjuſted, and made ready for ſigning. The firſt of January was the day named for opening the congreſs; but they waited ſome time for the allies: In the beginning of February O. S. the French made their propoſals in a very high ſtrain. The treaty at Utrecht opened.

They promiſed, that at the ſigning of the treaty they would own the Queen and the Succeſſion to the Crown, as ſhe ſhould direct; Spain and the Weſt-Indies were to remain with King Philip; the dominions in Italy, with the Iſlands, except Sicily, were to go to the Emperor, and the Spaniſh Netherlands to the Elector of Bavaria: The trade was to be regulated, as it was before the war; ſome The French propoſals.

places

1712. places in Canada were to be restored to England, with the freedom of fishery in Newfoundland; but Placentia was to remain with the French: Dunkirk was offered to be demolished; but Lisle and Tournay were to be given for it: The States were to have their demands for the barrier; and the frontier between France, the Empire, and Italy, was to be the same, that it was before the war; by which Landau, Fenestrella, and Exiles, were to be restored to France. These demands were as extravagant, as any that France could have made, in the most prosperous state of their affairs: This filled the Allies with indignation, and heightned the jealousy they had of a secret understanding, between the courts of England and France.

The death of the two Dauphins.

But a great change happened in the affairs of France, at this very time, that their Plenipotentiaries were making these demands at Utrecht: The Dauphiness was taken suddenly ill of a surfeit, as it was given out, and died in three days; and within three or four days after that, the Dauphin himself died; and in a few days after him, his eldest son, about five or six years old, died likewise; and his second son, then about three years old, was thought to be in a dying condition: These deaths coming so quick one after another, struck that Court: The King himself was for some days ill, but he soon recovered. Such repeated strokes were looked on with amazement: Poison was suspected, as is usual upon all such occasions; and the Duke of Orleans was generally charged with it: He was believed to have dealt much in chymistry, and was an ambitious Prince. While he was in Spain, at the head of King Philip's army, he formed a project to set him aside, and to make himself King of Spain; in which, as the Lord Townshend told me, he went so far, that he tried to engage Mr. Stanhope, to press the Queen and the States to assist him, promising to break with France, and to marry King Charles's Dowager.

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This came to be discovered: He was upon that called out of Spain; and it was thought, that the only thing that saved him, was the King's kindness to his natural daughter, whom he had married. The King not only past it over; but soon after, he obliged the Duke of Berry to marry his daughter: Such care had that old King taken, to corrupt the blood of France, with the mixture of his spurious issue. King Philip was not at all pleased with the alliance; but wrote to his elder brother, expostulating for his not opposing the marriage more vigorously; with which he professt himself so displeased, that he could not be brought to congratulate upon it. This letter was sent from Madrid to Paris; but was intercepted, and sent to Barcelona, and from thence to the Hague; Dr. Hare told me, he read the original letter. 1712.

The Duke of Burgundy, when he became Dauphin, upon his father's death, had been let into the understanding the secrets of government; and, as was given out, he had on many occasions expressed a deep sense of the miseries of the people, with great sentiments of justice: He had likewise, in some disputes, that Cardinal de Noailles had with the Jesuits, espoused his interests, and protected him. It was also believed, that he retained a great affection to the Archbishop of Cambray, whose fable of Telemachus carried in it the noblest maxims possible, for the conduct of a wise and good Prince, and set forth that station in shining characters, but which were the reverse of Lewis the XIVth's whole life and reign. These things gave the French a just sense of the loss they had in his death; and the apprehensions of a minority, after such a reign, struck them with a great consternation. These deaths, in so critical a time, seemed to portend, that all the vast scheme which the King of France had formed, with so much perfidy and bloodshed, was in a fair way to be soon blasted. The character of the Dauphin.

1712. blasted. But I will go no further in so dark a prospect.

An indignation, when the French propofals came over, appeared in both Houses.

The French propositions raised, among the true English, a just indignation; more particularly their putting off the owning the Queen, 'till the treaty came to be signed: The Lord Treasurer, to soften this said, he saw a letter, in which the King of France acknowledged her Queen; this was a confession that there was a private correspondence between them; yet the doing it by a letter was no legal act. In excuse of this it was said, that the late King was not owned by the French, till the treaty of Ryswick came to be signed: But there was a mediator in that treaty, with whom our Plenipotentiaries only negotiated; whereas there was no mediator at Utrecht: So that the Queen was now, without any interposition, treating with a Prince, who did not own her right to the Crown. The propositions made by the French were treated here with the greatest scorn; nor did the Ministers pretend to say any thing in excuse for them: And an address was made to the Queen, expressing a just indignation at such a proceeding, promising her all assistance in carrying on the war, 'till she should arrive at a just and honourable peace.

The demands of the Allies.

The Allies did offer their demands next, which ran as high another way: The Emperor asked the whole Spanish Monarchy; England asked the restoring Newfoundland, and the demolishing of Dunkirk; the States asked their whole barrier; and every Ally asked satisfaction to all the other Allies, as well as to himself: England and the States declared, that they demanded Spain and the West-Indies for the Emperor; so the high pattern set by the French, in their demands, was to the full imitated by the Allies. The French set a day, for offering their answer; but when the day came, instead of offering an answer in writing, they proposed to enter into verbal conferences, upon the demands made on both sides: This had indeed been

practised

practiſed in treaties, where mediators interpoſed; but that was not done, 'till the main points were ſecretly agreed to. The Allies rejected this propoſition, and demanded ſpecifick anſwers in writing; ſo, till the beginning of May, the treaty went on in a very languid manner, in many fruitleſs meetings, the French always ſaying, they had yet received no other orders: So that the negotiation there was at a full ſtand. 1712.

The preparations for the campaign were carried on, by the Emperor and the States, with all poſſible vigour: Prince Eugene ſtaid three months in England in a fruitleſs negotiation with our Court, and was ſent back with general and ambiguous promiſes: The States gave him the ſupreme command of their army, and aſſured him that, in the execution of the project that was concerted among them, he ſhould be put under no reſtraint by their Deputies or Generals, and that no ceſſation of arms ſhould be ordered, till all was ſettled by a general peace. The Duke of Ormond followed him in April, well ſatisfied both with his inſtructions and his appointments; for he had the ſame allowances, that had been lately voted criminal in the Duke of Marlborough. Preparations for the campaign.

At this time the Pretender was taken ill of the ſmall-pox: He recovered of them; but his ſiſter, who was taken with the ſame diſeaſe, died of it: She was, by all that knew her, admired as a moſt extraordinary perſon in all reſpects; inſomuch that a very great character was ſpread of her, by thoſe who talked but indifferently of the Pretender himſelf: Thus he loſt a great ſtrength, which ſhe procured to him, from all who ſaw or converſed with her. I turn next to give an account of the convocation. The Pretender's ſiſter died.

There was a doubt ſuggeſted, whether the Queen's licence did ſtill ſubſiſt, after a prorogation by a royal writ: The Attorney-General gave his opinion, that it was ſtill in force; upon which, the Proceedings in Convocation.

Biſhops

1712. Biſhops went on with the reſolution, in which the former Seſſion had ended, and ſent back to the Lower Houſe a paper, which had been ſent to them from that Houſe in the former Seſſion, with ſuch amendments, as they thought proper: But then Atterbury ſtarted a new notion, that as, in a ſeſſion of Parliament, a prorogation put an end to all matters not finiſhed, ſo that they were to begin all a-new; the ſame rule was to be applied to convocations, in purſuance of his favourite notion, that the proceedings in Parliament were likewiſe to be obſerved amongſt them. The Biſhops did not agree to this; for, upon ſearching their books, they found a courſe of precedents to the contrary: And the ſchedule, by which the Archbiſhop prorogued them, when the royal writ was ſent him, did in expreſs words continue all things, in the ſtate in which they were then, to their next meeting. Yet this did not ſatisfy Atterbury and his party; ſo the Lower Houſe ordered him to lay the matter before the Attorney-General for his opinion; he did that very partially, for he did not ſhew him the paper ſent down by the Biſhops; he only gave him a very defective abſtract of it: Whereupon the Attorney-General gave him ſuch an anſwer as he deſired, by which it was very plain, that he was not rightly informed about it. The Biſhops reſolved to adhere to the method of former convocations, and not to begin matters afreſh, that had been formerly near finiſhed. By this means they were at a full ſtop, ſo that they could not determine thoſe points, which had been recommended to them by the Queen: But they entered upon new ones; there was then a bill, in the Houſe of Parliament, for building fifty new churches, in and about London and Weſtminſter; ſo an office, for conſecrating churches and church-yards, was prepared: And probably this will be all the fruit, that the church will reap from this Convocation.

The

The cenſure that was paſſed on Whiſton's book, in the former Seſſion, had been laid before the Queen in due form for her approbation: But at the opening of this Seſſion in December, the Biſhops finding that no return was come from the throne in that matter, ſent two of their number, to receive her Majeſty's pleaſure in it; the Archbiſhop being ſo ill of the gout, that he came not among us all that winter. The Queen had put the cenſure, that we had ſent her, into the hands of ſome of her Miniſters, but could not remember to whom ſhe gave it; ſo a new extract of it was ſent to her; and ſhe ſaid, ſhe would ſend her pleaſure upon it very ſpeedily: But none came during the Seſſion, ſo all further proceedings againſt him were ſtopped, ſince the Queen did not confirm the ſtep, that we had made. This was not unacceptable to ſome of us, and to myſelf in particular; I was gone into my dioceſs, when that cenſure was paſſed; and I have ever thought, that the true intereſt of the chriſtian religion was beſt conſulted, when nice diſputing about myſteries was laid aſide and forgotten. 1712. Cenſure on Whiſton's book not confirmed by the Queen.

There appeared at this time an inclination, in many of the clergy, to a nearer approach towards the church of Rome; Hicks, an ill-tempered man, who was now at the head of the Jacobite party, had in ſeveral books promoted a notion, that there was a proper ſacrifice made in the Euchariſt, and had on many occaſions ſtudied to leſſen our averſion to Popery: The ſupremacy of the Crown in eccleſiaſtical matters, and the method in which the reformation was carried, was openly condemned; one Brett had preached a ſermon, in ſeveral of the pulpits of London, which he afterwards printed; in which he preſſed the neceſſity of prieſtly abſolution, in a ſtrain beyond what was pretended to even in the church of Rome: He ſaid no repentance could ſerve without it, and affirmed that the Prieſt was veſted with the ſame power of pardoning, An inclination in ſome of the clergy towards Popery.

1712. that our Saviour himſelf had. A motion was made in the Lower Houſe of Convocation, to cenſure this; but it was ſo ill ſupported, that it was let fall. Another conceit was taken up, of the invalidity of Lay-Baptiſm, on which ſeveral books have been writ; nor was the diſpute a trifling one, ſince by this notion, the teachers among the Diſſenters paſſing for Lay Men, this went to the rebaptizing them and their congregations.

Dodwell's notions.

Dodwell gave the riſe to this conceit; he was a very learned man, and led a ſtrict life; he ſeemed to hunt after paradoxes in all his writings, and broached not a few; he thought none could be ſaved, but thoſe who, by the Sacraments, had a federal right to it; and that theſe were the ſeals of the Covenant: So that he left all, who died without the Sacraments, to the uncovenanted mercies of God; and to this he added, that none had a right to give the Sacraments, but thoſe who were commiſſioned to it; and theſe were the Apoſtles, and after them Biſhops and Prieſts ordained by them: It followed upon this, that Sacraments adminiſtred by others were of no value. He purſued theſe notions ſo far, that he aſſerted that the ſouls of men were naturally mortal, but that the immortalizing virtue was conveyed by baptiſm, given by perſons epiſcopally ordained. And yet, after all this, which carried the epiſcopal function ſo high, he did not lay the original of that government, on any inſtruction or warrant in the ſcripture: But thought it was ſet up, in the beginning of the ſecond century, after the Apoſtles were all dead. He wrote very doubtfully of the time, in which the Canon of the New Teſtament was ſettled; he thought it was not before the ſecond century, and that an extraordinary inſpiration was continued in the churches to that very time, to which he aſcribed the original of epiſcopacy. This ſtrange and precarious ſyſtem was in great credit among us; and the neceſſity of the Sacrament, and the invalidity of eccleſiaſtical

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functions, when performed by persons, who were not episcopally ordained, were entertained by many with great applause: This made the Dissenters pass for no Christians, and put all thoughts of reconciling them to us far out of view: And several little books were spread about the nation, to prove the necessity of re-baptizing them, and that they were in a state of damnation 'till that was done; but few were, by these arguments, prevailed upon to be re-baptized: This struck even at the baptism by midwives in the church of Rome; which was practised and connived at here in England, 'till it was objected in the conference, held at Hampton-Court, soon after King James the First accession to the Crown, and baptism was not 'till then limited to persons in orders: Nothing of this kind was so much as mentioned in the year 1660, when a great part of the nation had been baptized by Dissenters; but it was now promoted with much heat. 1712.

The Bishops thought it necessary to put a stop to this new and extravagant doctrine; so a declaration was agreed to, first against the irregularity of all baptism by persons, who were not in holy orders; but that yet, according to the practice of the primitive church, and the constant usage of the church of England, no baptism (in or with water, in the name of the Father, Son and Holy Ghost) ought to be reiterated. The Archbishop of York at first agreed to this; so it was resolved to publish it, in the name of all the Bishops of England; but he was prevailed on to change his mind; and refused to sign it, pretending that this would encourage irregular baptism: So the Archbishop of Canterbury, with most of the Bishops of his province, resolved to offer it to the Convocation. It was agreed to in the Upper House, the Bishop of Rochester only dissenting: But when it was sent to the Lower House, they would not so much as take it into consideration, but laid it aside; thinking that it would encourage those, who struck at the

The Bishops designed to condemn the re-baptizing Dissenters

But the clergy did not agree to it.

1712. dignity of the prieſthood. This was all that paſſed in Convocation.

Great ſupplies given.

The ſupplies demanded were given, in all about ſix millions; there were two lotteries of 1,800,000 l. a-piece, beſides the four ſhillings in the pound, and the malt bill. A motion was made for a clauſe, to be put in one of the lottery bills, for a commiſſion to enquire into the value and conſideration of all the grants, made by King William. The Miniſters apprehended the difficulty of carrying a money-bill, with a tack to it, through the Houſe of Lords; ſo they prevailed to get it ſeparated from the money-bill, and ſent up in a particular one; and undertook to carry it. When it came up to the Houſe of Lords, a great party was made againſt it; thoſe who continued to pay a reſpect to the memory of King William, thought it was a very unbecoming return to him, who had delivered the nation from ſlavery and popery, to caſt ſo particular an indignity on his grants: The bill made all its ſteps through the Houſe of Lords to the laſt, with a ſmall majority of one or two. The Earl of Nottingham was abſent the firſt two days, but came to the Houſe on the laſt; he ſaid, he always thought thoſe grants were too large, and very unſeaſonably made, but he thought there ought to be an equal way of proceeding in that matter; they ought either to reſume them all, or to bring all concerned in them, to an equal compoſition: He therefore could not approve of this bill, which by a very clear conſequence would put it in the power of a fellow-ſubject, to reſume or to cover grants, at his pleaſure; and ſo it would put the perſons, concerned in the grants, into too great a dependence on him. At the laſt reading of the bill ſeventy-eight, in perſon or by proxy, were for the bill; and as many were againſt it: The votes being equal, by the rule of the Houſe, the negative carried it: So, for that time, the bill was loſt.

During

During the Seſſion, reports were often given out, that all things were agreed, and that the treaty was as good as finiſhed: But new ſtories were ſet on foot, and pretended delays, to put off the expectation of peace; however, in the end of May, we were ſurprized with letters from the camp, which told us, that the army of the Allies being joined, was 25000 men ſtronger than the French; an advantage that they never had before during the whole courſe of the war. That Prince Eugene therefore propoſed, that they ſhould march towards the head of the Scheld, where the French army lay, and upon their advancing the French would be obliged, either to venture on action, or to retire; and in that caſe Cambray would be left open to the Allies, to ſit down before it. The council of war agreed to this, but to their great ſurprize, the Duke of Ormond ſhewed orders, not to act offenſively againſt the French; he ſeemed to be very uneaſy with theſe orders, but ſaid he muſt obey them. This was much reſented by the whole army, and by the Miniſters of the Allies at the Hague and at Utrecht: And it ſtruck us here in England with amazement. 1712.

The Duke of Ormond ordered not to act offenſively.

Motions were made upon it, in both Houſes of Parliament; for it ſeemed, we were neither to have peace nor war: So it was propoſed, that an addreſs ſhould be made to the Queen, that ſhe would ſet the Duke of Ormond at liberty, to act in concurrence with the other Generals, and carry on the war, ſo as to obtain a good peace. Thoſe who oppoſed this, aſked, what proofs they had, of what was ſaid, concerning the Duke of Ormond's orders; they had only private letters, which were not produced: So, it was ſaid, there was not ground enough to found an addreſs upon; which ought not to be made, on bare reports. The Miniſters would neither confeſs, nor deny the matter, pretending the oath of ſecrecy; yet they af-

1712. firmed the Duke of Ormond was at liberty to cover a ſiege.

A ſeparate peace diſowned by the Lord Treaſurer.

That which prevailed in both Houſes, to hinder the addreſs, was, that the Miniſters in both did affirm, that the peace was agreed on, and would be laid before them in three or four days: It was upon that ſuggeſted, that this muſt be a ſeparate peace, ſince the Allies knew nothing of it. The Lord Treaſurer ſaid, a ſeparate peace was ſo baſe, ſo knaviſh, and ſo villainous a thing, that every one, who ſerved the Queen knew, they muſt anſwer it with their heads to the nation; but it would appear to be a ſafe and a glorious peace, much more to the honour and intereſt of the nation, than the preliminaries that were agreed to, three years before: He alſo affirmed, that the Allies knew of it, and were ſatisfied with it; ſo the motion fell: And all were in great expectation, to ſee what a few days would produce. In order to this, it was propoſed to examine into all the proceedings at the Hague, and at Gertruydenberg, in the years 1709 and 1710; this was ſet on by a repreſentation made by the Earl of Strafford; for he affirmed in the Houſe of Lords, that thoſe matters had not been fairly repreſented; he ſaid, he had his information from one of the two, who had been imployed in thoſe conferences: By this, it was plain he meant Buys. Lord Townſhend had informed the Houſe, that thoſe who treated with the French at Gertruydenberg did, at their return, give an account of their negotiation to the Miniſters of the Allies, in the penſioner's preſence, before they reported it to the States themſelves: But upon this the Earl of Strafford ſaid, they had been firſt ſecretly with the penſioner, who directed them both what to ſay, and what to ſuppreſs. Upon this, the Houſe made an addreſs to the Queen, deſiring her to lay before them all that paſſed at that time, and in that negotiation: But nothing followed upon this; ſo it was ſaid to be deſigned only to amuſe the Houſe.

Sur

1712.

Surprizes came at this time quick one after another: At Utrecht, on the second of June N. S. the Plenipotentiaries of the States expostulated with the Bishop of Bristol, upon the orders sent to the Duké of Ormond: He answered, he knew nothing of them; but said, he had received a letter, two days before, from the Queen, in which she complained that, nowithstanding all the advances she had made, to engage the States to enter with her upon a plan of peace, they had not answered her as they ought, and as she hoped they would have done: Therefore she did now think herself at liberty, to enter into separate measures, to obtain a peace for her own convenience. The Plenipotentiaries said, this was contrary to all their alliances and treaties; they thought that, by the deference they had shewed her, on all occasions, they had merited much better usage from her: They knew nothing of any advances made to them, on a plan of peace. The Bishop replied, that considering the conduct of the States, the Queen thought herself disengaged from all alliances and engagements with them: The Bishop did not in expres words name the barrier treaty; but he did not except it: So they reckoned it was included, in the general words he had used. This did not agree, with what the Lord Treasurer had said in the House of Lords: And when the States envoy complained to him, of these declarations made them by the Bishop, all the answer he made was, that he was certainly in a very bad humour, when he talked at that rate.

The Queen, by the Bishop of Bristol, said she was free from all her treaties with the States.

On the fifth of June, the Queen came to the Parliament, and told them on what terms a peace might be had: King Philip was to renounce the succession to the Crown of France, if it should devolve on him; and this was to execute itself, by putting the next to him into the succession: Sicily was to be separated from Spain, though it was not yet settled, who should have it. The protestant succession

The Queen laid before the Parliament the plan of the peace.

1712. ceſſion was to be ſecured; and he, who had pretended to the Crown, was no more to be ſupported. Dunkirk was to be demoliſhed, and Newfoundland to be delivered to England. Gibraltar and Port-Mahon were to remain in our hands: We were alſo to have the Aſſiento, a word importing, the furniſhing the Spaniſh Weſt-Indies with ſlaves from Africa. The Dutch were to have their barrier, except two or three places: And due regard would be had to all our allies.

Addreſſes of both houſes upon it.

Both houſes agreed to make addreſſes of thanks to the Queen, for communicating this plan to them, deſiring her to finiſh it: An addition to theſe laſt words, in conjunction with her allies, was moved in both houſes; that ſo there might be a guaranty ſettled for the maintaining the terms of the treaty: But it was rejected, by a great majority in both houſes. It was ſaid, in oppoſition to it, that it would ſubject the Queen and the whole treaty, to the pleaſure of the allies who might prove backward and intractable: And ſince England had born the greateſt ſhare of the burthen of the war, it was reaſonable that the Queen ſhould be the arbiter of the peace. On the other hand it was ſaid, that if the allies did not enter into a guaranty we muſt depend on the faith of the French, and be at their mercy; and ſo have nothing to truſt to, but the promiſes of a Court noted, in a courſe of many years, for a train of perfidy: But many had formed an obſtinate reſolution to get out of the war on any terms: So nothing that was offered, that ſeemed to obſtruct the arriving ſpeedily at that end, was heard with patience; and no regard was had to the faith of treaties: Yet both houſes obſerved one caution, not to expreſs their being ſatisfied with the plan of the peace, though it was covertly inſinuated. Mention was alſo made of our treaties with our allies, and of the proteſtant ſucceſſion: The Lords, who had all along proteſted againſt the ſteps, that the Court had taken, entred

entred the reaſons of their proteſting againſt the negative, put on adding the words, in conjunction with her allies, and on the former vote, concerning the orders ſent to the Duke of Ormond: Theſe carried in them ſuch juſt and ſevere reflections on the Miniſtry, as running the nation into an open breach of all publick truſt, and putting every thing into the hands of the French; that by the ſtrength of the majority they were expunged: Yet they were printed, and copies of them were ſent over the nation; but nothing could break through that inſenſibility, which had ſtupified the people. A new ſet of addreſſes ran about, full of groſs flattery, magnifying the preſent conduct, with ſevere reflections on the former Miniſtry, which ſome carried back to King William's reign: Some of theſe addreſſes mentioned the proteſtant ſucceſſion, and the Houſe of Hanover, with zeal; others did it more coldly; and ſome made no mention at all of it. And it was univerſally believed, that no addreſſes were ſo acceptable to the Miniſters, as thoſe of the laſt ſort. 1712.

The end of the ſeſſion of Parliament.

About the middle of June, the ſeſſion of Parliament came to an end: The Queen in her Speech ſaid, ſhe was glad to find they approved of her ſcheme of peace, though that was in none of the addreſſes; many, who intended to merit by their officious zeal, had indeed magnified it in both houſes, but it was not in either of their addreſſes. The Earl of Strafford was again ſent over, to induce the States to accept the offers, that the French were making, and to conſent to a ceſſation of arms.

The Duke of Ormond proclaims a ceſſation of arms, and left Prince Eugene's army.

Prince Eugene ordered Queſnoy to be beſieged; and he, in conjunction with the Duke of Ormond, covered the ſiege; but, when the place was ſo ſtreightned, that it could not hold out above two or three days, the Duke of Ormond ſent Prince Eugene word, that he had orders to proclaim a ceſſation of arms for two months. Prince Eugene

1712. disagreeing to this, he signified his orders to all the German troops, that were in the Queen's pay: But the States and the Emperor had foreseen that this might happen, and had negotiated so effectually with the Princes, to whom these troops belonged, that they had sent orders to their Generals, to continue with Prince Eugene, and to obey his command. This they represented to the Duke of Ormond; and he upon that told them, they should have neither bread nor pay nor their arrears, if they refused to obey his orders: This last seemed unjust, since they had served hitherto, according to agreement; so that their arrears could not be detained, with any colour of justice. Quesnoy capitulated, and the garrison were made prisoners of war. It was said, that the Court of France had promised, to put Dunkirk in the Queen's hands, as a sure pledge of performing all that they had stipulated, in order to a general peace; this was executed, in the beginning of July; and a body of our troops, with a squadron of ships, were sent to take possession of the place. The Duke of Ormond made a second attempt, on the Generals of the German troops, to see if they would agree to the cessation of arms: But they excused themselves, upon the orders they had received from their masters: So he proclaimed the cessation, at the head of the English troops; upon which he separated himself from Prince Eugene's army, and retired to Ghendt and Bruges, possessing himself of them: The fortified places, near the frontier, had orders to let the officers pass through, but not to suffer the troops to possess themselves of them. The withdrawing the English forces in this manner, from the confederate army, was censured, not only as a manifest breach of faith and of treaties, but as treacherous in the highest and basest degree. The Duke of Ormond had given the States such assurances, of his going along with them through the whole campaign, that he was let into the secrets of

Quesnoy taken.

all their counſels, which by that confidence were all known to the French: And, if the auxiliary German troops had not been prepared to diſobey his orders, it was believed he, in conjunction with the French army, would have forced the States to come into the new meaſures. But that was happily prevented; yet all this conduct of our General was applauded at home as great, juſt and wiſe; and our people were led to think it a kind of triumph, upon Dunkirk's being put into our hands; not conſidering that we had more truly put ourſelves into the hands of the French, by this open breach of faith; after which, the confederates could no longer truſt or depend on us. Nor was this only the act of the Court and Miniſtry, but it became the act of the nation, which by a general voice did not only approve of it, but applaud it. 1712.

Landrecy beſieged.

Prince Eugene's next attempt was upon Landrecy, in which it ſeemed probable that he would ſucceed; but this proſpect, and indeed the whole campaign, had a fatal reverſe: There was a body of 8000 or 10000 men poſted at Denain, on the Scheld, commanded by the Earl of Albemarle, to ſecure the conveying bread and ammunition to the army, and to the ſiege. Villars made a motion, as if he deſigned to give Prince Eugene battle; but after a feint that way, he turned quick upon this body, that lay on both ſides of the river, with only one bridge of pontoons: The reſt had been ſent to the ſiege of Landrecy; and there was not a ſupply of more brought. That bridge, with the weight that was on it, broke; ſo the bodies could not be joined: But military men aſſured me, that, if it had not been for that misfortune, Villars's attempt might have turned fatally on himſelf, and to the ruin of his whole army. But in concluſion, he gave them a total defeat, and ſo made himſelf maſter of thoſe poſts, which they were to defend. This opened a new ſcene; it not only forced the raiſing the ſiege of Landrecy, but gave

A great loſs at Denain brought a reverſe on the campaign.

Villars

1712. Villars an occaſion to ſeize on Marchiennes, and ſome other places, where he found great ſtores of artillery and ammunition; and furniſhed him likewiſe with an opportunity of ſitting down before Doway. What errours were committed, either in the counſels or orders, or in the execution of them, and at whoſe door theſe ought to be laid, is far above my underſtanding in military matters: But be that as it will, this misfortune ſerved not a little to raiſe the Duke of Marlborough's character, under whoſe command no ſuch thing had ever happened. The effects of this diſgrace were great; Doway was taken, after a long and brave defence; Prince Eugene tried to raiſe the ſiege, but did not ſucceed in it: Indeed the States would not put things to ſo great a venture, after ſuch a loſs; the garriſon were made priſoners of war. Queſnoy was next beſieged; the great artillery, that had been employed in the ſiege, were left in the place: The garriſon improved that advantage; ſo that the taking it coſt the enemy very dear.

Diſtractions at the Hague.

Theſe loſſes created a great diſtraction in the Counſels at the Hague; many were inclined to accept of a ceſſation; the Emperor and the Princes of the empire made great offers to the States, to perſuade them to continue the war; at the ſame time, the French grew very inſolent upon their ſucceſſes, and took occaſion, from a quarrel between the footmen of one of the Dutch Plenipotentiaries, and one of theirs, to demand an extravagant reparation; which the Dutch not complying with, a full ſtop was put to all proceedings at Utrecht, for ſome months. Our Court took ſome pains to remove that obſtruction; but the French King's pride being now again in exaltation, he was intractable: St. John, being made Viſcount Bolingbroke, was ſent over with ſecret inſtructions, to the Court of France; where, as it was believed, the peace was fully concluded: But all, that was publiſhed upon his return, was a new ceſſation of arms, both by

ſea

ſea and land, for four months longer. Duke Hamilton was named to go Ambaſſador to France, and Lord Lexington to Spain. The Earl of Strafford continued to preſs the States, to come into the Queen's meaſures, which 'twas ſaid he managed with great imperiouſneſs: The States reſolved to offer their plan to the Queen, in which they preſſed the reſtoring Strazbourg to the empire, to have Valenciennes demoliſhed, and Condé added to their barrier, and that the old tariff for trade ſhould be again reſtored. 1712.

The Lord Lexington went firſt to Spain, where the Cortes were ſummoned, in which that King did ſolemnly renounce, for himſelf and his heirs, the right of ſucceſſion to the Crown of France; and limited the ſucceſſion to the Crown of Spain, after his own poſterity, to the Houſe of Savoy. The like renunciation was made ſome months after that, by the Princes of France to the Crown of Spain: And Philip was declared incapable of ſucceeding to the Crown of France. It was ſomething ſtrange, to ſee ſo much weight laid on theſe renunciations, ſince the King of France had ſo often, and ſo ſolemnly declared (upon his claiming, in the right of his Queen, the Spaniſh Netherlands; when the renunciation made by his Queen before the marriage, purſuant to the treaty of the Pyrenees, of all rights of ſucceſſion to her father's dominions, was objected to him) that no renunciation, which was but a civil act, could deſtroy the rights of blood, founded on the laws of nature: But this was now forgot, or very little conſidered. At this time the order of the Garter had nine vacant ſtalls; ſo ſix Knights were at one time promoted, the Dukes of Beaufort, Hamilton, and Kent; and the Earls of Oxford, Powlet, and Strafford. The Duke of Hamilton's being appointed to go to the Court of France, gave melancholy ſpeculations to thoſe, who thought him much in the Pretender's intereſt: He was conſidered, not only in Scotland, but here in England, as the head of his party; but a diſmal accident put an end to

The renunciation of the ſucceſſions in Spain and France.

1712. to his life, a few days before he intended to have set out on his embaſſy.

Duke of Hamilton and Lord Mohun both killed in a combat.

He and the Lord Mohun were engaged in ſome ſuits of law; and a violent hatred was kindled between them: So that, upon a very high provocation, the Lord Mohun ſent him a challenge, which he tried to decline: but both being hurried by thoſe falſe points of honour, they fatally went out to Hyde Park, in the middle of November, and fought with ſo violent an animoſity, that neglecting the rules of art, they ſeemed to run on one another, as if they tried who ſhould kill firſt; in which they were both ſo unhappily ſucceſsful, that the Lord Mohun was killed outright, and Duke Hamilton died in a few minutes after. I will add no character of him: I am ſorry I cannot ſay ſo much good of him as I could wiſh, and I had too much kindneſs for him, to ſay any evil without neceſſity. Nor ſhall I make any reflections on the deplorable effect of thoſe unchriſtian and barbarous maxims, which have prevailed ſo univerſally, that there is little hope left of ſeeing them rooted out of the minds of men; the falſe notions of honour and courage being too ſtrong, to be weighed down by prudent or religious conſiderations.

The Duke of Shrewſbury ſent to France, and Duke de Aumont came to England.

The Duke of Shrewſbury was, upon Duke Hamilton's death, named for the embaſſy to France, and went over in the end of December: The ſame yacht, that carried him to Calais, brought over the Duke de Aumont, the French Ambaſſador, who was a good-natured and generous man, of profuſe expence, throwing handfuls of money often out of his coach, as he went about the ſtreets: He was not thought a man of buſineſs, and ſeemed to employ himſelf chiefly, in maintaining the dignity of his character, and making himſelf acceptable to the nation. I turn next to foreign affairs.

The affairs in the North.

The war in Pomerania went on but ſlowly, tho' the Czar and the Kings of Denmark and Poland joined their forces; upon which it was thought, the intereſt of Sweden muſt have ſunk in thoſe parts: But the

the feebleneſs of one or other of thoſe Princes loſt them great advantages. Steinbock, the Swediſh General, ſeeing the Danes were ſeparated from their allies, made a quick march toward them; and, though the Saxons had joined them, before he came up, yet he attacked them. The action was hot, and laſted ſome hours; but it ended in a compleat victory on the Swediſh ſide. At the ſame time the Swedes were animated, by reports from Conſtantinople, which gave them hopes of the war, between the Turks and the Czar being like to break out again, the King of Sweden continued to ſollicit, and in which he had all the aſſiſtance, that the French could give him. 1712.

The Emperor prepares for the war with France.

This gave the Emperor great apprehenſions, that diſorders in Hungary might follow upon it, which would defeat the meaſures he had taken to ſettle matters in that kingdom, ſo that being ſafe on that ide, he might turn his whole force againſt France, nd by that means, encourage the States to conti- nue the war. Thoſe in Holland, who preſſed the ccepting the offers that France made them, repre- ented that as a thing not poſſible to be ſupported: The promiſes of the Emperor and the Princes of the mpire had ſo often failed them, that they ſaid, hey could not be relied on: And the diſtractions n the North made them apprehend, that thoſe Princes might be obliged to recall their troops, vhich were in the ſervice of the States.

A new Barrier Treaty with the States.

The Earl of Strafford was ſent back to the Hague, vith the French plan, which came to be called the Queen's plan: But to draw them in the more, he vas ordered to enter upon a new Barrier Treaty vith them, by which the former was to be ſet aſide: By it the States were to maintain the ſucceſſion to he Crown, when required to it by the Queen, but ot otherwiſe. This gave ſtill new occaſions for ealouſy: For whereas, by the former treaty, they were ſtrictly bound to maintain the ſucceſſion, ſo hat they were obliged to oppoſe any attempts they aw made againſt it; they were by this treaty oblig-

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1712. ed to ſtay 'till they were ſent to: And if our Miniſters ſhould come to entertain ill deſigns that way, they would take care no notice ſhould be given to the States. The barrier for the Dutch came far ſhort of the former; the States wrote another letter to the Queen, deſiring her to interpoſe, for reſtoring Strazbourg to the empire, for adding Condé to their barrier, and for ſettling the commerce on the foot of the antient tariff; as alſo for obtaining more reaſonable terms for the Emperor: But things were ſo fixed between the Court of France and ours, that there was no room for interceſſion.

The death of the Earl of Godolphin. His character.

The Earl of Godolphin died of the ſtone in September: He was the man of the cleareſt head, the calmeſt temper, and the moſt incorrupt of all the Miniſters of State, I have ever known. After having been thirty years in the treaſury, and during nine of thoſe Lord Treaſurer, as he was never once ſuſpected of corruption, or of ſuffering his ſervants to grow rich under him, ſo in all that time his eſtate was not increaſed by him to the value of 4000 l. He ſerved the Queen with ſuch a particular affection and zeal, that he ſtudied to poſſeſs all people with great perſonal eſteem for her: And ſhe herſelf ſeemed to be ſo ſenſible of this for many years, that if courts were not different from all other places in the world, it might have been thought, that his wiſe management at home, and the Duke of Marlborough's glorious conduct abroad, would have fixed them in their poſts, above the little practices of an artful favourite, and the cunning of a man, who has not hitherto ſhewed any token of a great genius, and is only eminent in the arts of deluding thoſe that hearken to him.

The Duke of Marlborough went to live beyond ſea.

Upon the Earl of Godolphin's death, the Duke of Marlborough reſolved to go and live beyond ſea; he executed it in the end of November; and his Dutcheſs followed him in the beginning of February. This was variouſly cenſured; ſome pretended it was the giving up and abandoning the concerns of his

his country; and they repreſented it as the effect of fear, with too anxious a care to ſecure himſelf: Others were glad he was ſafe out of ill hands; whereby, if we ſhould fall into the convulſions of a civil war, he would be able to aſſiſt the Elector of Hanover, as being ſo entirely beloved and confided in, by all our military men; whereas if he had ſtaid in England, it was not to be doubted, but, upon the leaſt ſhadow of ſuſpicion, he would have been immediately ſecured; whereas now he would be at liberty, being beyond ſea, to act as there might be occaſion for it. 1712.

There were two ſuits begun againſt him; the one was for the two and a half per. Cent. that the foreign Princes were content ſhould be deducted for contingencies, of which an account was formerly given; the other was, for arrears due to the builders of Blenheim Houſe. The Queen had given orders for building it with great magnificence; all the bargains with the workmen were made in her name, and by authority from her: and in the preambles of the acts of Parliament, that confirmed the grant of Woodſtock to him and his heirs, it was ſaid the Queen built the Houſe for him: Yet now, that the tradeſmen were let run into an arrear of 30000 l. the Queen refuſed to pay any more; and ſet them upon ſuing the Duke of Marlborough for it, though he had never contracted with any of them: Upon his going beyond ſea, both thoſe ſuits were ſtaid, which gave occaſion to people to imagine, that the Miniſtry, being diſturbed to ſee ſo much publick reſpect put on a man, whom they had uſed ſo ill, had ſet theſe proſecutions on foot, only to render his ſtay in England uneaſy to him.

Our army continued this winter about Ghendt and Bruges; and we kept a ſort of garriſon in Dunkirk: But that was ſo ill ſupplied with artillery and ammunition, that it was viſible they were not in a condition to keep the place, any longer than the French were willing to let them ſtay in it. We poſſeſs Dunkirk in a very precarious manner.

1712. And during that time, they were neither allowed to have a place to worſhip God, nor to bury their dead in, though by a mortality that raged there ſome thouſands died. Our Miniſters continued ſtill to preſs the States and the Emperor to come into the Queen's meaſures; the Emperor, on ſome occaſions, talked in a very poſitive ſtrain, as if he was reſolved to put all to hazard, rather than ſubmit to ſuch hard conditions; but the apprehenſions of a war in the neighbourhood of Hungary, and the low ſtate of his treaſure, forced him to come down from that heighth, and engage the States to procure better terms for him: The demand of Strazbourg was rejected by the French, with ſo poſitive an air, that our Court did not move in it more; nor did it appear, that we obtained any one condition of the French, but what was offered in their own project.

The Barrier Treaty ſigned.

In concluſion, the States were forced to yield in every particular; and then our Miniſters, to give ſome ſeeming content to the nation, and to bring the States into ſome confidence with them, ordered the new Barrier Treaty to be ſigned: And it was given out by their creatures, that the French were highly offended at their ſigning this; making it previous to a general peace, and a ſort of guaranty for it. Thus, after all the declamations that were made on the firſt Barrier Treaty, the Miniſters came into a new one, which though not ſo ſecure as the former, yet was liable to all the objections, that were made againſt that. The French, as we were aſſured, in the progreſs of the treaty, uſed all that courſe of chicane, for which they have been ſo long famous: And, after all the ſteps our Court had made, to get them a treaty of their own projecting, we were not at laſt able to gain any one point upon them: They ſeemed to reckon, that now we had put ourſelves in their hands, and that they might uſe us as they pleaſed.

A pro-

A proclamation was set out in the end of November, giving notice that the session of Parliament would be opened on the thirteenth of January: But though the proroguing the Parliament, after such a proclamation, was without a precedent, yet we were put off by seven prorogations, some for a fortnight, and some for three weeks: It was said, we were daily expecting a sudden conclusion of the treaty; and 'till all was finished, the Ministers could not know what aids were to be demanded. What occasioned all these delays, is yet a secret to me; so I can write nothing of it. Many expresses were sent to Vienna, and the returns to those could not come quick. The demands for restoring the Electors of Bavaria and Cologn, together with a compensation for their losses, were insisted on. The Emperor could not do the former of these, without the diet, by whose authority they were put under the imperial Ban: But neither the Emperor nor diet could answer the other demand, it rose so high. 1713. Seven prorogations of Parliament.

While we were at home uneasy at the many prorogations and delays, the news from beyond sea opened a new scene. The Swedes broke into Holstein, but were so closely followed by the Danes and Muscovites, that their retreat by land was cut off, and the Danish ships shut them from the Baltick sea: they made great waste in the King of Denmark's share of Holstein, and burnt Altena, a great and rich village, within a mile of Hambourg, which being an open place, in no sort fortified, the burning it was thought contrary to the laws of war. Affairs of Sweden.

The King of Prussia died in February; he was in his own person a virtuous man, and full of zeal in the matters of religion; he raised above two hundred new churches in his dominions; he was weak, and much in the power of his Ministers and flatterers; but was so apt to hearken to whispers, that he changed twice the whole set of his Ministry: His assum- The King of Prussia's death.

1713. ing the title of a King, and his affecting an extraordinary magnificence in his Court, brought a great charge on himſelf, and on all about him, which made him a ſevere maſter to his ſubjects, and ſet him on many pretenſions, chiefly thoſe relating to the Prince of Frizeland, which were not thought well grounded. He was ſucceeded in his dignity by his ſon, who had hitherto appeared to affect a roughneſs of behaviour, and ſeemed fond of his grenadiers, not only beyond all other military men, but beyond all men whatſoever: He ſeemed to have a warlike inclination; but what he will prove, now that he is on the Throne, muſt be left to time.

The King of Sweden's misfortunes.

The appearances of a new war between the Turk and the Czar varied ſo often, that it was doubtful in what it might end: The King of Sweden uſed all poſſible means to engage the Turk in it; but he threw himſelf, by his intractable obſtinacy, into great dangers: The party at the Port, that oppoſed the war, ſtudied to get rid of that King, and of his importunities. Orders were ſent him to march back into his kingdom: And they undertook to procure him a ſafe paſſage to it; but he treated the perſon, that was ſent with this meſſage, with great inſolence, and fortified himſelf, as well as he could, with the Swedes that were about him, and reſolved to defend himſelf. A force much ſuperior to his was brought againſt him; but he maintained himſelf ſo reſolutely in his houſe, that ſome hundreds of thoſe who attacked him were killed: The Turks upon that ſet fire to the houſe, whereupon he was forced to ſurrender, and was put under a guard; and moſt of his Swedes were ſold for ſlaves; he was carried to a houſe near Adrianople, but not ſuffered to come to Court: only the Sultan diſowned the violence uſed to his perſon. In the mean while, the Czar ſhipped an army from Peterſburgh, that landed in Finland: The Swedes were not able to ſtand before him; every place, as he advanced, ſubmitted to him; and he was now maſter of Abo, the

the capital of Finland, and of that whole province. Steinbock, with his army, maintained himself in Tonningen, as long as their provision lasted: But, all supplies being carefully stopped, he was forced at last to deliver up himself and his army prisoners of war; and these were the best troops the Swedes had, so that Sweden was struck with a general consternation: To this distracted state has that furious Prince abandoned his own kingdom. And there I must leave it, to return to our own affairs. 1713.

The treaties signed, and the session of Parliament opened.

After a long expectation we at last knew, that on the thirteenth of March the Treaty of Peace between England, France, and the States was signed: Upon this, the Parliament was opened on the ninth of April. The Queen in her speech told the two Houses, that she had now concluded a peace, and had obtained a further security for the Protestant succession, and that she was in an intire union with the House of Hanover; she asked of the Commons, the necessary supplies, and recommended to both Houses, the cultivating the arts of peace, with a reflection upon faction. Upon this speech, a debate arose in the House of Lords, concerning some words, that were moved to be put in the address, (which of course was to be made to the Queen) applauding the conditions of the peace, and the security for the Protestant succession: This was opposed, since we did not yet know what the conditions of the peace were, nor what that security was; all that appeared was, that the Pretender was gone out of France into the Barrois, a part of Lorrain, for which that Duke did homage to the Crown of France. An address of congratulation was agreed to, but without any approbation of the peace. The House of Commons observed the same caution in their address. But upon this, a new set of addresses ran through the nation, in the usual strains of flattery and false eloquence. The Parliament sate above a month, before the articles of peace (and of a treaty of commerce, made at that same time)

1713. were laid before them. It was given out, that, 'till the ratifications were exchanged, it was not proper to publiſh them; but when that was done, they were communicated to both Houſes, and printed.

The ſubſtance of the treaties of peace and commerce

By the treaty of peace, the French King was bound to give neither harbour nor aſſiſtance to the Pretender, but acknowledged the Queen's title and the Proteſtant ſucceſſion, as it was ſettled by ſeveral acts of Parliament: Dunkirk was to be razed in a time limited, within five months, after the ratifications; but that was not to be begun, 'till an equivalent for it was put in the hands of France. Newfoundland, Hudſon's Bay, and St. Chriſtopher's were to be given to England; but Cape Breton was left to the French, with a liberty to dry their fiſh on Newfoundland: This was the main ſubſtance of the articles of peace. The treaty of commerce ſettled a free trade, according to the tariff in the year 1664, excepting ſome commodities, that were ſubjected to a new tariff in the year 1699, which was ſo high, that it amounted to a prohibition: All the productions of France were to come into England under no other duties, but thoſe that were laid on the ſame productions from other countries; and when this was ſettled, then commiſſaries were to be ſent to London, to agree and adjuſt all matters relating to trade: The treaty of commerce with Spain was not yet finiſhed. As for the allies, Portugal and Savoy were ſatisfied; the Emperor was to have the dutchy of Milan, the kingdom of Naples, and the Spaniſh Netherlands: Sicily was to be given to the Duke of Savoy, with the title of King: And Sardinia with the ſame title, was to be given to the Elector of Bavaria, in lieu of his loſſes: The States were to deliver up Liſle, and the little places about it: and, beſides the places of which they were already poſſeſſed, they were to have Namur, Charleroy, Luxembourg, Ypres, and Newport: The King of Pruſſia was to have the Upper Guelder, in lieu of Orange,

Orange, and the other eſtates, which the family had in Franche Comtè: This was all that I think neceſſary to inſert here, with relation to our treaty: The Emperor was to have time to the firſt of June, to declare his accepting of it. It did not appear what equivalent the King of France was to have for Dunkirk: No mention was made of it in the treaty; ſo the Houſe of Commons made an addreſs to the Queen, deſiring to know what that equivalent was. Some weeks paſſed before they had an anſwer; at laſt the Queen by a meſſage ſaid, the French King had that equivalent already in his own hands; but we were ſtill in the dark as to that, no further explanation being made of it. As to Newfoundland, it was thought that the French ſettling at Cape Breton, inſtead of Placentia, would be of great advantage to them with relation to the fiſhery, which is the only thing that makes ſettlements in thoſe parts of any value. The Engliſh have always pretended, that the firſt diſcovery of Newfoundland being made in Henry the Seventh's time, the right to it was in the Crown of England. The French had leave given them in King Charles the Firſt's time to fiſh there, paying tribute, as an acknowledgment of that licence: It is true, they carried this much further, during the civil wars; and this grew to a much greater heighth in the reign of King Charles the Second: But in King William's time, an act of Parliament paſſed, aſſerting the right of the Crown to Newfoundland, laying open the trade thither to all the ſubjects of Great Britain, with a poſitive and conſtant excluſion of all aliens and foreigners: Theſe were the reflections on the treaty of peace; but there were more important objections made to the treaty of commerce. During King Charles the Second's reign, our trade with France was often and loudly complained of, as very prejudicial to the nation; there was a commiſſion appointed in the year 1674, to adjuſt the conditions of our commerce with that nation, and then it appeared, in a ſcheme 1713.

1713. that was prepared by very able merchants, that we loſt every year a million of money by our trade thither. This was then ſo well received, that the ſcheme was entred into the journals of both Houſes of Parliament, and into the books of the cuſtom-houſe: But the court at that time favoured the intereſts of France ſo much, preferably to their own, that the trade went ſtill on 'till the year 1678, when the Parliament laid, upon all French commodities, ſuch a duty as amounted to a prohibition, and was to laſt for three years, and to the end of the next ſeſſion of Parliament: At the end of the three years, King Charles called no more Parliaments; and that act was repealed in King James's Parliament: But, during the whole laſt war, high duties were laid on all the productions and manufactures of France; which by this treaty were to be no higher charged, than the ſame productions from other countries. It was ſaid that, if we had been as often beat by the French, as they had been by us, this would have been thought a very hard treaty; and if the articles of our commerce had been ſettled, before the Duke of Ormond was ordered to ſeparate his troops from the confederates, the French could not have pretended to draw us into ſuch terms, as they had inſiſted on ſince that time, becauſe we put ourſelves into their power. We were engaged by our treaty with Portugal, that their wines ſhould be charged a third part lower than the French wines; but if the duties were, according to this treaty of commerce, to be made equal, then conſidering the difference of freight, which is more than double from Portugal, the French wines would be much cheaper; and the nation generally liking them better, by this means we ſhould not only break our treaties with Portugal, but if we did not take off their wines, we muſt loſe their trade, which was at preſent the moſt advantageous, that we drove any where: For beſides a great vent of our manufactures, we brought over yearly

yearly great returns of gold from thence; four, five, and ſix hundred thouſand pounds a year. We had brought the ſilk manufacture here to ſo great perfection, that about 300000 people were maintained by it. For carrying this on, we brought great quantities of ſilk from Italy and Turky, by which people in thoſe countries came to take off as great quantities of our manufactures: So that our demand for ſilk had opened good markets for our woollen goods abroad, which muſt fail, if our manufacture of ſilk at home ſhould be loſt: Which, if once we gave a free vent for ſilk ſtuffs from France among us, muſt ſoon be the caſe; ſince the cheapneſs of proviſions and of labour in France, would enable the French to underſell us, even at our own markets. Our linnen and paper manufactures would likewiſe be ruined by a free importation of the ſame goods from France. Theſe things came to be ſo generally well underſtood; that even, while flattering addreſſes were coming to Court from all the parts of the iſland, petitions came from the towns and counties concerned in trade, ſetting forth the prejudice they apprehended from this treaty of commerce. The Miniſters uſed all poſſible arts to bear this clamour down; they called it faction, and decried it with a boldneſs, that would have ſurprized any, but thoſe who had obſerved the methods, they had taken for many years, to vent the fouleſt calumnies, and the falſeſt miſrepreſentations poſſible. But the matter came to be ſo univerſally apprehended, that it could not be diſguiſed. 1713.

Aid given by the Commons

The Houſe of Commons gave an aid of two ſhillings in the pound, though the Miniſters hoped to have carried it higher; but the members durſt not venture on that, ſince a new election was ſoon to follow the concluſion of the Seſſion: They went next to renew the duty on malt, for another year; and here a debate aroſe, that was kept up ſome days in both Houſes of Parliament, whether it ſhould

1713. should be laid on the whole island: It was carried in the affirmative, of which the Scots complained heavily, as a burden that their country could not bear: And whereas it was said, that those duties ought to be laid equally on all the subjects of the united kingdom, the Scots insisted on an article of the Union, by which it was stipulated, that no duty should be laid on the malt in Scotland during the war, which ought to be observed religiously. They said, it was evident, the war with Spain was not yet ended; no peace with that Crown was yet proclaimed, nor so much as signed: And, though it was as good as made, and was every day expected, yet it was a maxim in the construction of all laws, that odious matters ought to be strictly understood, whereas matters of favour were to be more liberally interpreted. It was farther said on the Scotch side, that this duty was, by the very words of the act, to be applied to deficiencies during the war: So this act was, upon the matter, making Scotland pay that duty during the war, from which the articles of the Union did by express words exempt them. A great number of the English were convinced of the equity of these grounds, that the Scots went on; but the majority was on the other side. So, when the bill had passed through the House of Commons, all the Scots of both Houses met together, and agreed to move for an act, dissolving the Union; they went first to the Queen, and told her how grievous and indeed intolerable this duty would be to their country, so that they were under a necessity to try, how the Union might be broken. The Queen seemed uneasy at the motion; she studied to divert them from it, and assured them that her officers should have orders to make it easy to them. This was understood to imply that the duty should not be levied; but they knew this could not be depended on: So the motion was made in the House of Lords, and most of the Lords of that nation spoke to it: They set forth

The Scots oppose their being charged with the duty on malt.

And moved to have the Union dissolved.

orth all the hardſhips, that they lay under ſince the Union; they had no more a council in Scotland; their Peers at preſent were the only perſons n the whole iſland, that were judged incapable of Peerage by deſcent; their laws were altered in matters of the higheſt importance, particularly in matters of treaſon; and now an impoſition was to be aid on their malt, which muſt prove an intolerable burden to the poor of that country, and force hem to drink water. Upon all theſe reaſons they noved for liberty to bring in a bill, to diſſolve the Jnion, in which they would give full ſecurity, for naintaining the Queen's prerogative, and for ſecuring the Proteſtant ſucceſſion. This was oppoſed vith much zeal by the Miniſters, but was ſupported by others; who, though they did not intend to give up the Union, yet thought it reaſonable to give a hearing to this motion, that they night ſee how far the Proteſtant ſucceſſion could e ſecured, in caſe it ſhould be entertained; but he majority were for rejecting the motion: When he malt-bill was brought up to the Lords, there was ſuch an oppoſition made to it, that fifty-ſix voted againſt it, but ſixty-four were for it, and ſo t paſſed. 1713.

The matter of the greateſt conſequence in this Seſſion was, a bill for ſettling the commerce with France, according to the treaty, and for taking off he prohibitions and high duties, that were laid on he productions of France. The traders in the city of London, and thoſe in all the other parts of England were alarmed, with the great prejudice his would bring on the whole nation. The Turky Company, thoſe that traded to Portugal and Italy, and all who were concerned in the woollen and ſilk manufactures, appeared before both Houſes, and ſet forth the great miſchief, that a commerce with France, on the foot of the treaty, would bring upon the nation; while none appeared on the other ſide, to anſwer their arguments, or to ſet forth the advan-

A bill for rendring the treaty of commerce with France effectual.

1713. advantage of such a commerce. It was manifest, that none of the trading bodies had been consulted in it; and the Commissioners for trade and plantations had made very material observations on the first project, which was sent to them for their opinion: And afterwards, when this present project was formed, it was also transmitted to that Board by the Queen's order, and they were required to make their remarks on it: but Arthur Moor, who had risen up from being a footman without any education, to be a great dealer in trade, and was the person of that Board, in whom the Lord Treasurer confided most, moved that they might first read it every one a-part, and then debate it; and he desired to have the first perusal: So he took it away, and never brought it back to them, but gave it to the Lord Bolingbroke, who carried it to Paris, and there it was settled. The bill was very feebly maintained by those who argued for it; yet the majority went with the bill 'till the last day; and then the opposition to it was so strong, that the Ministers seemed inclined to let it fall: But it was not then known, whether this was only a feint or whether the instances of the French Ambassador, and the engagements, that our Ministers were under to that Court, prevailed for carrying it on. It was brought to the last step; and then a great many of those, who had hitherto gone along with the Court, broke from them in this matter, and bestirred themselves so effectually, that when it came to the last division, 185 were for the bill and 194 were against it: By so small a majority was a bill of such great importance lost. But the House of Commons, to soften the ill construction that might be made of their rejecting this bill, made an address to the Queen, in which they thanked her for the peace she had concluded, and for the foundation laid for settling our commerce, and prayed her to name commissaries to regulate and finish that matter.

To this the Queen ſent an anſwer, of a ſingular compoſition: She ſaid, ſhe was glad to ſee they were ſo well pleaſed with the treaty of peace and commerce, that ſhe had made, and aſſured them that ſhe would uſe her beſt endeavours to ſee all the advantages, that ſhe had ſtipulated for her ſubjects, performed: This was ſurprizing, ſince the Houſe of Commons had ſufficiently ſhewed, how little they were pleaſed with the treaty of commerce, by their rejecting the bill, that was offered to confirm it; and this was inſinuated in their addreſs itſelf: But it was pleaſantly ſaid, that the Queen anſwered them, according to what ought to have been in their addreſs, and not according to what was in it; beſides it was obſervable, that her promiſe, to maintain what was already ſtipulated, did not at all anſwer the prayer of their addreſs. This was all that paſſed in this ſeſſion of Parliament with relation to the peace. It was once apprehended, that the Miniſters would have moved for an act, or at leaſt for an addreſs, approving the peace; and upon that I prepared a ſpeech, which I intended to make on the ſubject: It was the only ſpeech, that I ever prepared beforehand; but ſince that matter was never brought into the Houſe, I had no occaſion to make it; yet I think proper to inſert it here, that I may deliver down my thoughts of this great tranſaction to poſterity. 1713.

A ſpeech I prepared when the approbation of the peace ſhould be moved in the Houſe of Lords.

" MY Lords, this matter now before you, as it is of the greateſt importance, ſo it may be ſeen in very different lights; I will not meddle with the political view of it; I leave that to perſons, who can judge and ſpeak of it much better than I can: I will only offer to you what appears to me, when I conſider it, with relation to the rules of morality and religion; in this I am ſure I act within my proper ſphere. Some things ſtick ſo with me, that I could have no quiet in my conſcience, nor think

" I had

1713. " I had anſwered the duty of my function, if I
" did not make uſe of the freedom of ſpeech,
" that our conſtitution and the privileges of this
" houſe allow me: I am the more encouraged to
" do this, becauſe the bringing thoſe of our or-
" der into publick councils, in which we have now
" ſuch a ſhare, was originally intended for this very
" end, that we ſhould offer ſuch conſiderations, as
" ariſe from the rules of our holy religion, in all
" matters that may come before us. In the open-
" ing my ſenſe of things, I may be forced to uſe
" ſome words, that may perhaps appear ſevere:
" I cannot help it, if the nature of theſe affairs is
" ſuch, that I cannot ſpeak plainly of them, in
" a ſofter ſtrain: I intend not to reflect on any
" perſon: And I am ſure I have ſuch a profound
" reſpect for the Queen, that no part of what I
" may ſay, can be underſtood to reflect on her in
" any ſort: Her intentions are, no doubt, as ſhe
" declares them to be, all for the good and hap-
" pineſs of her people; but it is not to be ſup-
" poſed, that ſhe can read long treaties, or carry
" the articles of them in her memory: So if things
" have been either concealed from her, or miſ-
" repreſented to her, ſhe can do no wrong: And, if
" any ſuch thing has been done, we know on
" whom our conſtitution lays the blame.

" The treaties that were made ſome years ago
" with our allies are in print; both the grand
" alliance, and ſome ſubſequent ones: We ſee
" many things in theſe, that are not provided for
" by this peace; it was in particular ſtipulated
" that no peace ſhould be treated, much leſs con-
" cluded, without the conſent of the allies. But
" before I make any obſervations on this, I muſt
" deſire you will conſider how ſacred a thing the
" publick faith, that is engaged in treaties and
" alliances, ſhould be eſteemed.

" I hope, I need not tell you, that even hea-
" then nations valued themſelves upon their fide-
" lity

" lity, in a punctual obſerving of all their treaties, 1713.
" and with how much infamy they branded the
" violation of them: If we conſider that, which
" revealed religion teaches us to know, that man
" was made after the image of God, the God of
" all truth, as we know who is the father of lyes;
" God hates the deceitful man, in whoſe mouth
" there is no faithfulneſs. In that leſs perfect re-
" ligion of the Jews, when the Gibeonites had,
" by a fraudulent proceeding, drawn Joſhua and
" the Iſraelites into a league with them, it was
" ſacredly obſerved; and the violation of it, ſome
" ages after, was ſeverely puniſhed. And, when
" the laſt of the Kings of Judah ſhook off the
" fidelity, to which he had bound himſelf to the
" King of Babylon, the Prophet thereupon ſaid
" with indignation, ſhall he break the oath of
" God, and proſper? The ſwearing deceitfully is
" one of the worſt characters; and he who ſwears
" to his own hurt, and changes not, is among the
" beſt. It is a maxim of the wiſeſt of Kings,
" that the throne is eſtabliſhed by righteouſneſs.
" Treaties are of the nature of oaths; and when
" an oath is aſked to confirm a treaty, it is never
" denied. The beſt account that I can give of
" the diſuſe of adding that ſacred ſeal to treaties is
" this:

" The Popes had for ſome ages poſſeſſed them-
" ſelves of a power, to which they had often re-
" courſe, of diſſolving the faith of treaties, and
" the obligation of oaths: The famous, but fatal
" ſtory of Ladiſlaus, King of Hungary, breaking
" his faith to Amurath the Turk, by virtue of a
" papal diſpenſation, is well known. One of the
" laſt publick acts of this ſort was, when Pope
" Clement the ſeventh abſolved Francis the firſt,
" from the treaty made and ſworn to at Madrid,
" while he was a priſoner there: The ſevere re-
" venge that Charles the fifth took of this, in the
" ſack of Rome, and in keeping that Pope for

1713. " ſome months a priſoner, has made Popes more
" cautious, ſince that time, than they were for-
" merly: This alſo drew ſuch heavy but juſt re-
" proaches, on the papacy, from the reformers,
" that ſome ſtop ſeems now to be put to ſuch a
" barefaced protection of perjury. But the late
" King told me, that he underſtood from the
" German Proteſtant Princes, that they believed
" the confeſſors of Popiſh Princes had faculties
" from Rome, for doing this as effectually, though
" more ſecretly: He added, that they knew it
" went for a maxim among Popiſh Princes, that
" their word and faith bound them as they were
" men, and members of Society; but that their
" oaths, being acts of religion, were ſubject to the
" direction of their confeſſors; and that they, ap-
" prehending this, did, in all their treaties with
" the Princes of that religion, depend upon their
" honour, but never aſked the confirmation of an
" oath, which had been the practice of former
" ages. The Proteſtants of France thought they
" had gained an additional ſecurity, for obſerving
" the edict of Nantes, when the ſwearing to ob-
" ſerve it was made a part of the coronation oath:
" But it is probable, this very thing undermined
" and ruined it.

" Grotius, Puffendorf, and others who have
" wrote of the law of nations, lay this down for a
" rule, that the nature of a treaty, and the tie
" that ariſes out of it, is not altered by the having
" or not having an oath; the oath ſerves only to
Pernicies, " heighten the obligation. They do alſo agree in
Summus " this, that confederacies do not bind States, to
Conatus. " carry on a war to their utter ruin; but that
" Princes and States are bound to uſe their utmoſt
" efforts, in maintaining them: And it is agreed
" by all, who have treated of theſe matters, that
" the common enemy, by offering to any one
" confederate all his pretenſions, cannot juſtify
" his departing from the confederacy; becauſe it
" was

" was entered into with that view, that all the 1713.
" pretenſions, upon which the confederacy was
" made, ſhould be inſiſted on or departed from,
" by common conſent.

" It is true, that in confederacies, where allies
" are bound to the performance of ſeveral articles,
" as to their quota's or ſhares, if any one fails in
" the part he was bound to, the other confederates
" have a right to demand a reparation for his non-
" performance: But even in that caſe, allies are
" to act as friends, by making allowances for
" what could not be helped, and not as enemies
" by taking advantages, on deſign to diſengage
" them from their allies. It is certain, allies for-
" feit their right to the alliance, if they do not per-
" form their part: But the failure muſt be evident,
" and an expoſtulation muſt be firſt made: And,
" if upon ſatisfaction demanded, it is not given,
" then a proteſtation ſhould be made, of ſuch
" non-performance; and the reſt of the confede-
" rates are at liberty, as to him who fails on his
" part: Theſe are reckoned among the cuſtoms
" and laws of nations: And, ſince nothing of this
" kind has been done, I cannot ſee how it can be
" made out, that the tie of the confederacy, and by
" conſequence, that the publick faith has not been
" firſt broken on our ſide.

" My Lords, I cannot reconcile the carrying
" on a treaty with the French, without the know-
" ledge and concurrence of the other confederate
" States and Princes, and the concluding it, with-
" out the conſent of the Emperor, the principal con-
" federate, not to mention the viſible uneaſineſs that
" has appeared in the others, who ſeem to have
" been forced to conſent, by declarations, if not
" by threatnings, from hence: I ſay, I cannot re-
" concile this, with the articles of the grand al-
" liance, and the other later treaties, that are in
" print: This ſeems to come within the charge
" of the prophet againſt thoſe who deal treache-

1713. " rouſly, with thoſe who had not dealt treacherouſly
" with them; upon which, the threatening that fol-
" lows may be juſtly apprehended: It will have a
" ſtrange ſound among all Chriſtians, but more
" particularly among the reformed, when it is re-
" ported, that the Plenipotentiary of the head of
" the reformed Princes, ſaid openly to the other
" Plenipotentiaries, that the Queen held herſelf
" free from all her treaties and alliances: If this
" be ſet for a precedent, here is a ſhort way of diſ-
" penſing with the publick faith; and if this was
" ſpoken by one of our prelates, I am afraid it
" will leave a heavy reproach on our church; and,
" to ſpeak freely, I am afraid it will draw a much
" heavier curſe after it. My Lords, there is a
" God in heaven, who will judge all the world,
" without reſpect of perſons: Nothing can proſ-
" per without his bleſſing: He can blaſt all the
" counſels of men, when laid in fraud and deceit,
" how cunningly ſoever they may be either con-
" trived or diſguiſed: And I muſt think that a
" peace made, in oppoſition to the expreſs words
" of ſo many treaties, will prove a curſe inſtead of
" a bleſſing to us: God is provoked by ſuch pro-
" ceedings, to pour heavy judgments on us, for
" the violation of a faith ſo often given, which
" is ſo openly broken: By this our nation is diſ-
" honoured, and our church diſgraced: And I
" dread to think, what the conſequence of thoſe
" things is like to prove. I would not have ex-
" preſſed myſelf in ſuch a manner, if I had not
" thought, that I was bound to it by the duty
" that I owe to Almighty God, by my zeal for
" the Queen, and the church, and by my love to
" my country. Upon ſo great an occaſion, I
" think my poſt in the church and in this houſe
" lays me under the ſtricteſt obligations to diſ-
" charge my conſcience, and to ſpeak plainly with-
" out fear or flattery, let the effect of it, as to my-
" ſelf, be what it will: I ſhall have the more quiet

" in

" in my own mind, both living and dying, for 1713.
" having done that, which ſeemed to me an in-
" diſpenſable duty.

" I hope this houſe will not bring upon them-
" ſelves and the nation, the blame and guilt of
" approving that, which ſeems to be much more
" juſtly cenſurable: The reproach that may be-
" long to this treaty, and the judgments of God,
" that may follow on it, are now what a few only
" are concerned in. A national approbation is a
" thing of another nature, the publick breach of
" faith, in the attack that was made on the Smyrna
" fleet forty years ago, brought a great load of
" infamy on thoſe, who adviſed and directed it;
" but they were more modeſt than to aſk a publick
" approbation of ſo opprobrious a fact: It lay on
" a few; and the nation was not drawn in to a
" ſhare in the guilt of that, which was then uni-
" verſally deteſted, though it was paſſed over in
" ſilence: It ſeems enough, if not too much, to be
" ſilent on ſuch an occaſion. I can carry my
" compliances no further."

A demand of money for the civil liſt debts.

I now go on with the account of what was farther done in this ſeſſion: The Houſe of Commons was, as to all other things except the matter of commerce, ſo entirely in the hands of the Miniſters, that they ventured on a new demand, of a very extraordinary nature, which was made in as extraordinary a manner. The civil liſt, which was eſtimated at 600,000 *l.* a-year, and was given for the ordinary ſupport of the government, did far exceed it: And this was ſo evident that, during the three firſt years of the Queen's reign, 100,000 *l.* was every year applied to the war; 200,000 *l.* was laid out in building of Blenheim houſe, and the entertaining the Palatines had coſt the Queen 100,000 *l.* So that here was apparently a large overplus, beyond what was neceſſary towards the ſupport of the government. Yet theſe extraordinary expences had put the ordinary payments into

1713. such an arrear, that at Midsummer 1710, the Queen owed 510,000 *l.* But upon a new account, this was brought to be 80,000 *l.* less; and at that time, there was an arrear of 190,000 *l.* due to the civil list; these two sums together amounting to 270,000 *l.* the debt that remained was but 240,000 *l.* Yet now, in the end of the session, when, upon the rejecting the bill of commerce, most of the members were gone into the country, so that there were not 180 of them left, a message was sent to the House of Commons, desiring a power to mortgage a branch of the civil list, for thirty-two years, in order to raise upon it 500,000 *l.*

Reasons against it. This was thought a demand of very bad consequence, since the granting it to one Prince would be a precedent to grant the like to all future Princes; and, as the account of the debt was deceitfully stated, so it was known, that the funds set off for the civil list would increase considerably in times of peace: So an opposition was made to it, with a great superiority in point of argument, but there was a great majority for it: And all people concluded, that the true end of getting so much money into the hands of the Court, was to furnish their creatures sufficiently, for carrying their elections.

But it was granted. The Lords were sensible, that the method of procuring this supply was contrary to their privileges, since all publick supplies were either asked from the throne, or by a message which was sent to both houses at the same time: This practice was enquired into by the Lords; no precedents came up to it; but some came so near it, that nothing could be made of the objection. But the Ministers, apprehending that an opposition would be made to the bill, if it came up alone, got it consolidated with another of 1,200,000 *l.* that was before them. And the weight of these two joined together, made them both pass in the House of Lords, without opposition.

While

While this was in agitation, the Earl of Wharton set forth, in the House of Lords, the danger the nation was in by the Pretender's being settled in Lorrain; so he moved, that an address should be made to the Queen, desiring her, to use her most pressing instances with the Duke of Lorrain to remove him, and with all Princes, that were in amity or correspondence with her, not to receive the Pretender, nor to suffer him to continue in their dominions: This was opposed by none, but the Lord North; so it was carried to the Queen. The day after the Lords had voted this, Stanhope made a motion to the same purpose in the House of Commons, and it was agreed to, Nemine Contradicente. The Queen, in her answer to the address of the Lords, said, she would repeat the instances, she had already used, to get that person removed, according to their desire in the address: This seemed to import, that she had already pressed the Duke of Lorrain on that subject, though the Ministers, in the House of Lords, acknowledged that they knew of no applications made to the Duke of Lorrain, and thought the words of the answer related only to the instances she had used, to get the Pretender to be sent out of France: But the natural signification of the words, seeming to relate to the Duke of Lorrain, the Lords made a second address, in which they said, they were surprized to find, that those instances had not their full effect, notwithstanding the Kings of France and Spain had shewed their compliance with her desire, on that occasion: All the answer brought to this was, that the Queen received it graciously. She answered the Commons more plainly, and promised to use her endeavours to get him removed. It was generally believed, that the Duke of Lorrain did not consent to receive him, till he sent one over, to know the Queen's pleasure upon it, and that he was very readily informed of that.

1713. Address of both houses to get the Pretender removed from Lorrain.

1713. The death of ſome Biſhops.

In the end of May, Spratt, Biſhop of Rocheſter, died; his parts were very bright in his youth, and gave great hopes; but theſe were blaſted by a lazy libertine courſe of life, to which his temper and good nature carried him, without conſidering the duties or even the decencies of his profeſſion: He was juſtly eſteemed a great maſter of our language, and one of our correcteſt writers. Atterbury ſucceeded him in that ſee, and in the Deanry of Weſtminſter: Thus was he promoted, and rewarded for all the flame, that he had raiſed in our church. Compton, Biſhop of London, died in the beginning of July, in the eighty firſt year of his age: He was a generous and good-natured man, but eaſy and weak, and much in the power of others: He was ſucceeded by Robinſon, Biſhop of Briſtol. On the eighteenth of July, the Queen came to the Houſe of Lords, to paſs the bills, and to put an end to the ſeſſion: She made a ſpeech to her Parliament, in which, after ſhe had thanked them for the ſervice they had done the publick, and for the ſupplies that the Commons had given; ſhe ſaid, ſhe hoped the affair of commerce would be ſo well underſtood at their next meeting, that the advantageous conditions, ſhe had obtained from France, would be made effectual, for the benefit of our trade: She enlarged on the praiſes of the preſent Parliament; ſhe ſaid, at their firſt meeting they had eaſed the ſubjects of more than nine millions, without any further charge on them, not to mention the advantage, which the way of doing it, might bring to the nation, and now they had enabled her likewiſe to pay her debts: They had ſupported the war, and ſtrengthened her hands, in obtaining a peace: She told them, at her firſt coming to the Crown, ſhe found a war prepared for her: And that ſhe had now made her many victories uſeful, by a ſafe and honourable peace. She promiſed herſelf, that with their concurrence, it would be laſting: She deſired they would make her

her subjects sensible, what they gained by the peace, and endeavour to dissipate all the groundless jealousies, which had been too industriously fomented; that so our divisions might not endanger the advantages, she had obtained for her kingdoms: There were some (very few she hoped) that would never be satisfied with any government; she hoped they would exert themselves, to obviate the malice of the ill-minded, and to undeceive the deluded: She recommended to them the adhering to the constitution in Church and State; such persons had the best title to her favour; she had no other aim, but their advantage, and the securing our religion, and liberty; she hoped to meet a Parliament next winter, that should act upon the same principles, and with the same prudence and vigour, to support the liberties of Europe abroad, and to reduce the spirit of faction at home. Few speeches from the throne have in my time been more severely reflected on, than this was: It seemed strange that the Queen, who did not pretend to understand matters of trade, should pass such a censure on both houses, for their not understanding the affair of commerce; since at the bar of both houses, and in the debates within them upon it, the interest of the nation did appear so visibly to be contrary to the treaty of commerce, that it looked like a contempt put on them, to represent it as advantageous to us, and to rank all those, who had opposed it, among the ill-minded, or at least among the deluded. Nor did it escape censure, that she should affirm, that the nation was by them eased of the load of nine millions, without any further charge, since the nation must bear the constant charge of interest at six per Cent. till the capital should be paid off. The sharpness with which she expressed herself was singular, and not very well suited to her dignity or her sex: Nor was it well understood, what could be meant by her saying, that she found a war prepared for her, at her coming to the Crown; since 1713.

ſhe herſelf began it, upon the addreſſes of both houſes. It was alſo obſerved, that there was not, in all her ſpeech, one word of the Pretender, or of the proteſtant ſucceſſion; but that, which made the greateſt impreſſion on the whole nation was, that this ſpeech diſcovered plainly, that the Court was reſolved to have the bill of commerce paſs in the next ſeſſion: All people concluded, the Miniſters were under engagements to the Court of France to get it ſettled: And this was taken to be the ſenſe of the Queen's words concerning the making the peace laſting; what effect this may have on the next elections, which are quickly to follow, muſt be left to time.

I am now come to the end of the war, and of this Parliament, both at once: It was fit they ſhould bear ſome proportion to one another; for, as this was the worſt Parliament I ever ſaw, ſo no aſſembly, but one compoſed as this was, could have ſate quiet under ſuch a peace: But I am now arrived at my full period, and ſo ſhall cloſe this work: I had a noble proſpect before me, in a courſe of many years, of bringing it to a glorious concluſion; now the ſcene is ſo fatally altered, that I can ſcarce reſtrain myſelf from giving vent to a juſt indignation, in ſevere complaints: But an hiſtorian muſt tell things truly as they are, and leave the deſcanting on them to others: So I here conclude this hiſtory of above three and fifty years.

I pray God it may be read with the ſame candor and ſincerity, with which I have written it, and with ſuch a degree of attention, as may help thoſe who read it, to form juſt reflections, and ſound principles of religion and virtue, of duty to our Princes, and of love to our country, with a ſincere and incorruptible zeal to preſerve our religion, and to maintain our liberty and property.

THE

THE CONCLUSION.

I HAVE now ſet out the ſtate of affairs for above half a century, with all the care and attention that I was capable of: I have enquired into all matters among us, and have obſerved them, during the courſe of my life, with a particular application and impartiality. But my intention in writing was not ſo much, to tell a fine tale to the world, and to amuſe them with a diſcovery of many ſecrets and of intrigues of ſtate, to blaſt the memory of ſome and to exalt others, to diſgrace one party and to recommend another: My chief deſign was better formed, and deeper laid: It was to give ſuch a diſcovery of errors in government, and of the exceſſes and follies of parties, as may make the next age wiſer, by what I may tell them of the laſt. And I may preſume, that the obſervations I have made, and the account that I have given, will gain me ſo much credit, that I may ſpeak with a plain freedom to all ſorts of perſons: This not being to be publiſhed 'till after I am dead, when envy, jealouſy or hatred will be buried with me in my grave; I may hope, that what I am now to offer to ſucceeding ages, may be better heard, and leſs cenſured, than any thing I could offer to the preſent: So that this

this is a ſort of teſtament or dying ſpeech, which I leave behind me, to be read and conſidered when I can ſpeak no more: I do moſt earneſtly beg of God to direct me in it, and to give it ſuch an effect on the minds of thoſe who read it, that I may do more good, when dead, than I could ever hope to do while I was alive.

My zeal for the church of England.

My thoughts have run moſt, and dwelt longeſt on the concerns of the church and religion: Therefore I begin with them. I have always had a true zeal for the church of England; I have lived in it's communion with great joy, and have purſued it's true intereſts with an unfeigned affection: Yet I muſt ſay there are many things in it, that have been very uneaſy to me.

The doctrine.

The requiring ſubſcriptions to the thirty-nine articles is a great impoſition: I believe them all myſelf: But as thoſe, about original ſin and predeſtination, might be expreſſed more unexceptionably, ſo I think it is a better way, to let ſuch matters continue to be ſtill the ſtandard of doctrine, with ſome few corrections, and to cenſure thoſe who teach any contrary tenets: than to oblige all, that ſerve in the church, to ſubſcribe them: The greater part ſubſcribe without ever examining them; and others do it becauſe they muſt do it, though they can hardly ſatisfy their conſciences about ſome things in them. Churches and ſocieties are much better ſecured by laws, than by ſubſcriptions: It is a more reaſonable, as well as a more eaſy method of government.

The worſhip.

Our worſhip is the perfecteſt compoſition of devotion, that we find in any church, ancient or modern: Yet the corrections that were agreed to, by a deputation of Biſhops and divines in the year 1689, would make the whole frame of our liturgy ſtill more perfect, as well as more unexceptionable; and will, I hope, at ſome time or other, be better entertained, than they were then. I am perſuaded they are ſuch, as would bring in the much greater part of the diſſenters

diſſenters to the communion of the church, and are in themſelves deſirable, though there were not a diſſenter in the nation.

As for the eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction, it has been the burden of my life, to ſee how it was adminiſtred: Our courts are managed under the rules of the cannon law, dilatory and expenſive: And as their conſtitution is bad, ſo the buſineſs in them is ſmall; and therefore all poſſible contrivances are uſed, to make the moſt of thoſe cauſes, that come before them: So that they are univerſally dreaded and hated. God grant that a time may come, in which that noble deſign, ſo near being perfected in King Edward the Sixth's days, of the Reformatio Legum Eccleſiaſticarum, may be reviewed and eſtabliſhed: That ſo matrimonial and teſtamentary cauſes, which are of a mixed nature, may be left, a little better regulated, to the lay hands of chancellors and other officers; but that the whole correction of the manners of the laity, and the inſpection into the lives and labours of the clergy, may be brought again into the hand of ſpiritual men, and be put into a better method. It would be well if, after the poor clergy are relieved by the tenths and firſt fruits, a fund were formed (of twenty or thirty pound a-year) for the rural deans; and that they, with at leaſt three of the clergy of the deanry, named by the Biſhop, examined into the manners both of clergy and laity; and after the methods of private admonition had been tried, according to our Saviour's rule, but without effect, that the matter ſhould be laid before the Biſhop, who, after his admonitions were alſo ineffectual, might proceed to cenſures, to a ſuſpenſion from the Sacrament, and to a full excommunication, as the caſe ſhould require. This would bring our church indeed into a primitive form, in which at preſent the clergy have leſs authority, and are under more contempt, than in any church, that I have yet ſeen. For, though in the church of Rome the publick authority is in general managed,

And diſcipline.

managed, according to the method continued among us, yet it was in many particulars corrected by the Council of Trent; whereas we, by that unhappy proviſo in the act, authorizing the thirty-two Commiſſioners to reform our Courts, are fatally tied down to all, that was in uſe in the twenty-fifth year of King Henry the Eighth. Beſides, in that church the clergy have, by auricular confeſſion, but too great an authority over the people; I am far from thinking that to be a lawful, or even a deſirable thing: But ſince that is not to be thought of, we are in a woful condition, in which the clergy are, as it were, ſhut out from any ſhare of the main parts of the care of ſouls.

My zeal againſt ſeparation.

The want of a true well-regulated diſcipline is a great defect, owned to be ſo in the preface to the office of commination: And, while we continue in this condition, we are certainly in an imperfect ſtate. But this did never appear to me, to be a juſt ground of ſeparation; which I could never think lawful, unleſs the terms of communion among us were unlawful, and did oblige a man to ſin: That ſeems to me, the only juſtifiable cauſe of ſeparation, of leaving the eſtabliſhed church, and of ſetting up a diſtinct or oppoſite communion. Nothing under this ſeems to be a juſt ground of rending the body of Chriſt, or of diſturbing the order of the world and the peace of mankind, thereby drawing on that train of ill conſequences, that muſt and do follow upon ſuch a disjointing the ſociety of Chriſtians; by which they become alienated from one another, and in the ſequel grow to hate and to devour each other, and by which they are in danger of being conſumed one of another.

And tenderneſs to ſcrupulous conſciences.

I do wiſh, and will pray for it as long as I live, that ſome regard may be had to thoſe ſcruples, with which the diſſenters are entangled: And, though I think they are not all well grounded, yet for peace ſake I wiſh ſome things may be taken away, and that other things may be ſoftened and explained:

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Many of these things were retained at the reformation, to draw the people more entirely into it; who are apt to judge, especially in times of ignorance, by outward appearances, more than by the real value of things: So the preserving an exterior, that looked somewhat like what they had been formerly accustomed to, without doubt had a great effect at first on many persons, who, without that, could not have been easily brought over to adhere to that work: And this was a just and lawful consideration. But it is now at an end; none now are brought over from popery by this means; there is not therefore such a necessity for continuing them still, as there was for keeping them up at first. I confess, it is not advisable, without good reason for it, to make great changes in things that are visible and sensible; yet, upon just grounds, some may be made without any danger. No inconvenience could follow, on leaving out the cross in baptism, or on laying aside surplices, and regulating cathedrals, especially as to that indecent way of singing prayers, and of laymen's reading the litany: All bowings to the Altar have at least an ill appearance, and are of no use; the excluding parents from being the sponsors in baptism, and requiring them to procure others, is extreme inconvenient, and makes that to be a mockery, rather than a solemn sponsion, in too many. Other things may be so explained, that no just exceptions could lie to them.

Thus I wish the terms of communion were made larger and easier; but since all is now bound on us by a law, that cannot be repealed but in Parliament, there must be a great change in the minds, both of Princes and people, before that can be brought about: Therefore the dissenters ought to consider well, what they can do for peace, without sinning against God. The toleration does not at all justify their separation; it only takes away the force of penal laws against them: Therefore, as lying in common discourse is still a sin, though no statute pu-

niſhes it; and ingratitude is a baſe thing, though there is no law againſt it; ſo ſeparating from a national body and from the publick worſhip, is certainly an ill thing, unleſs ſome ſin be committed there, in which we think ourſelves involved, by joining with that body, and in that worſhip: So that the toleration is only a freedom from puniſhment, and does not alter the nature of the thing.

My zeal againſt perſecution.

I ſay not this from any diſlike of toleration; I think it is a right due to all men; their thoughts are not in their own power; they muſt think of things, as they appear to them; their conſciences are God's; he only knows them, and he only can change them. And as the authority of parents over their children is antecedent to ſociety, and no law, that takes it away, can be binding; ſo men are bound, antecedently to all ſociety, to follow what appears to them to be the will of God; and, if men would act honeſtly, the rule of doing to all others what we would have others do to us, would ſoon determine this matter; ſince every honeſt man muſt own, that he would think himſelf hardly dealt with, if he were ill uſed for his opinions, and for performing ſuch parts of worſhip, as he thought himſelf indiſpenſably obliged to. Indeed the church of Rome has ſome colour for her cruelty, ſince ſhe pretends to be infallible. But theſe practices are abſurdly unreaſonable among thoſe, who own that they may be miſtaken, and ſo may be perſecuting the innocent and the orthodox. Perſecution, if it were lawful at all, ought to be extreme, and go, as it does in the church of Rome, to extirpation; for the bad treatment of thoſe, who are ſuffered ſtill to live in a ſociety, is the creating ſo many malecontents, who at ſome time or other may make thoſe, who treat them ill, feel their revenge: And the principle of perſecution, if true, is that, to which all have a right, when they have a power to put it in practice: Since they, being perſuaded that they are in the right, from that muſt believe they may lawfully exert againſt

againſt others that ſeverity, under which they groaned long themſelves. This will be aggravated in them by the voice of revenge, which is too apt to be well heard by human nature, chiefly when it comes with the maſk and appearance of zeal. I add not here any political conſiderations, from the apparent intereſt of nations, which muſt diſpoſe them to encourage the increaſe of their people, to advance induſtry, and to become a ſanctuary to all, who are oppreſſed: But though this is viſible and is confeſſed by all, yet I am now conſidering this matter only as it is righteous, juſt, and merciful, in the principle; for if it were not ſo well ſupported in thoſe reſpects, other motives would only be a temptation to Princes and States to be governed by intereſt, more than by their duty.

My thought concerning the Clergy.

Having thus given my thoughts in general, with relation to the conſtitution of our church and the communion with it, I ſhall proceed, in the next place, to that which is ſpecial with relation to the Clergy. I have ſaid a great deal on this head, in my book of the Paſtoral Care, which of all the tracts I ever wrote, is that in which I rejoice the moſt: And, though it has brought much anger on me from thoſe, who will not ſubmit to the plan there laid down, yet it has done much good during my own life, and I hope it will do yet more good, after I am dead: This is a ſubject I have thought much upon, and ſo I will here add ſome things, to what will be found in that book.

An inward vocation,

No man ought to think of this profeſſion, unleſs he feels within himſelf a love to religion, with a zeal for it, and an internal true piety; which is chiefly kept up by ſecret prayer, and by reading of the ſcriptures: As long as theſe things are a man's burden, they are infallible indications, that he has no inward vocation, nor motion of the Holy Ghoſt to undertake it. The capital error in men's preparing themſelves for that function is, that they ſtudy books more than themſelves, and that they

read divinity more in other books, than in the ſcriptures: Days of prayer, meditation, and faſting, at leaſt once a quarter in the Ember week, in which they may read over and over again both offices of ordination, and get by heart thoſe paſſages in the epiſtles to Timothy and Titus, that relate to this function, would form their minds to a right ſenſe of it, and be an effectual mean to prepare them duly for it.

Aſk yourſelves often (for thus I addreſs myſelf to you, as if I were ſtill alive) would you follow that courſe of life, if there were no ſettled eſtabliſhment belonging to it, and if you were to preach under the croſs, and in danger of perſecution? For 'till you arrive at that, you are yet carnal, and come into the prieſthood for a piece of bread: Study to keep alive in you a flame of exalted devotion; be talking often to yourſelves, and communing with your own hearts; digeſt all that you read carefully, that you may remember it ſo well, as not to be at a loſs when any point of divinity is talked of: A little ſtudy well digeſted, in a good ſerious mind, will go a great way, and will lay in materials for your whole life: Above all things, raiſe within yourſelves a zeal for doing good, and for gaining ſouls; indeed I have lamented, during my whole life, that I ſaw ſo little true zeal among our clergy: I ſaw much of it in the clergy of the church of Rome, though it is both ill directed and ill conducted: I ſaw much zeal likewiſe throughout the foreign churches: The Diſſenters have a great deal among them; but I muſt own, that the main body of our clergy has always appeared dead and lifeleſs to me; and inſtead of animating one another, they ſeem rather to lay one another aſleep. Without a viſible alteration in this, you will fall under an univerſal contempt, and loſe both the credit and the fruits of your miniſtry.

The function of the Clergy.

When you are in orders, be ever ready to perform all the parts of your function; be not anxious about

about a ſettlement; ſtudy to diſtinguiſh yourſelves in your ſtudies, labours, exemplary deportment, and a juſt ſweetneſs of temper, managed with gravity and diſcretion; and as for what concerns yourſelves, depend on the providence of God; for he will in due time raiſe up friends and benefactors to you. I do affirm this, upon the obſervation of my whole life, that I never knew any one, who conducted himſelf by theſe rules, but he was brought into good poſts, or at leaſt into an eaſy ſtate of ſubſiſtence.

Do not affect to run into new opinions, nor to heat yourſelves in diſputes, about matters of ſmall importance: Begin with ſettling in your minds the foundations of your faith; and be full of this, and ready at it, that you may know how to deal with unbelievers; for that is the ſpreading corruption of this age: There are few atheiſts, but many infidels, who are indeed very little better than the atheiſts. In this argument, you ought to take pains to have all well digeſted, and clearly laid in your thoughts, that you may manage the controverſy gently, without any aſperity of words, but with a ſtrength of reaſon: In diſputing, do not offer to anſwer any argument, of which you never heard before, and know nothing concerning it; that will both expoſe you, and the cauſe you maintain; and, if you feel yourſelves grow too warm at any time, break off and perſiſt no longer in the diſpute; for you may by that grow to an indecent heat, by which you may wrong the cauſe, which you endeavour to defend. In the matter of myſteries be very cautious; for the ſimplicity, in which thoſe ſublime truths are delivered in the ſcriptures, ought to be well ſtudied and adhered to: Only one part of the argument ſhould be inſiſted on, I mean, the ſhortneſs and defectiveneſs of our faculties; which being well conſidered, will afford a great variety of noble ſpeculations, that are obvious

and eaſily apprehended, to reſtrain the wanton ſallies of ſome petulant men.

Study to underſtand well the controverſies of the church of Rome, chiefly thoſe concerning infallibility and tranſubſtantiation; for, in managing thoſe, their miſſionaries have a particular addreſs. Learn to view Popery in a true light, as a conſpiracy to exalt the power of the Clergy, even by ſubjecting the moſt ſacred truths of religion to contrivances for raiſing their authority, and by offering to the world another method of being ſaved, beſides that preſcribed in the Goſpel. Popery is a maſs of impoſtures, ſupported by men, who manage them with great advantages, and impoſe them with inexpreſſible ſeverities, on thoſe who dare call any thing in queſtion, that they dictate to them. I ſee a ſpirit riſing among us, too like that of the church of Rome, of advancing the Clergy beyond their due authority, to an unjuſt pitch: This rather heightens jealouſies and prejudices againſt us, than advances our real authority; and it will fortify the deſigns of profane infidels, who deſire nothing more than to ſee the publick Miniſtry of the Church firſt diſgraced, and then aboliſhed. The carrying any thing too far does commonly lead men into the other extreme: We are the diſpenſers of the Word and Sacraments; and the more faithful and diligent we are in this, the world will pay ſo much the more reſpect and ſubmiſſion to us: And our maintaining an argument for more power, than we now have, will be of no effect, unleſs the world ſees, that we make a good uſe of the authority, that is already in our hands: It is with the Clergy as with Princes; the only way to keep their prerogative from being uneaſy to their ſubjects, and from being diſputed, is to manage it wholly for their good and advantage; then all will be for it, when they find it is for them: This will prevail more effectually, than all the arguments of lawyers, with all the precedents of former times.

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Therefore let the Clergy live and labour well, and they will feel that as much authority will follow that, as they will know how to manage well. And to ſpeak plainly; Dodwell's extravagant notions, which have been too much drunk in by the Clergy in my time, have weakened the power of the Church, and ſoured men's minds more againſt it, than all the books wrote, or attempts made againſt it, could ever have done: And indeed, the ſecret poiſon of thoſe principles has given too many of the Clergy a biaſs towards Popery, with an averſion to the reformation, which has brought them under much contempt. This is not to be recovered, but by their living and labouring, as they ought to do, without an eager maintaining of arguments for their authority, which will never ſucceed, 'till they live better and labour more: When I ſay live better, I mean, not only to live without ſcandal, which I have found the greateſt part of them do, but to lead exemplary lives; to be eminent in humility, meekneſs, ſobriety, contempt of the world, and unfeigned love of the brethren; abſtracted from the vain converſation of the world, retired, and at home, faſting often, joining prayer and meditation with it; without which, faſting may do well with relation to the body, but will ſignify little with relation to the mind.

If, to ſuch a courſe of life, clergymen would add a little more labour, not only performing publick offices, and preaching to the edification of the people, but watching over them, inſtructing them, exhorting, reproving, and comforting them, as occaſion is given, from houſe to houſe, making their calling the buſineſs of their whole life; they would ſoon find their own minds grow to be in a better temper, and their people would ſhew more eſteem and regard for them, and a bleſſing from God would attend upon their labours. I ſay it with great regret, I have obſerved the clergy, in all the places through which I have travelled, Papiſts,

Lutherans, Calviniſts and Diſſenters; but of them all, our Clergy is much the moſt remiſs in their labours in private, and the leaſt ſevere in their lives. Do not think I ſay this to expoſe you, or to defame this Church; thoſe cenſures have paſſed on me for my freedom during my life, God knows how unjuſtly, my deſigns being all to awaken the Clergy, and by that means to preſerve the Church; for which, he who knows all things, knows how much and how long I have been mourning in ſecret, and faſting and praying before him. And let me ſay this freely to you, now that I am out of the reach of envy and cenſure, unleſs a better ſpirit poſſeſſes the Clergy, arguments, (and which is more) laws and authority will not prove ſtrong enough to preſerve the Church; eſpecially if the nation obſerves a progreſs in that biaſs, which makes many ſo favourable to Popery, and ſo ſevere towards the Diſſenters; this will recommend them the more to pity and favour, and will draw a general odium upon you, that may end in your ruin, or in a perſecution; for which the Clergy of this age ſeem to be very little prepared: God grant thoſe of the next may be more ſo.

Oh my brethren, (for I ſpeak to you as if I were among you,) think what manner of perſons you ought to be, in all holy converſation and godlineſs, that ſo you may ſhine as lights in the world: Think of the account you muſt give, for thoſe immortal ſouls committed to your care, which were redeemed by the blood of Chriſt, who has ſent you in his name, to perſuade them to be reconciled to God, and at laſt to preſent them to him faultleſs with exceeding joy; he ſees and obſerves your labours, and will recompence them gloriouſly in that great day.

I leave all theſe things on your conſciences, and pray earneſtly that God may give his bleſſing to this poſthumous labour of mine, that our Church may

may be so built up by your labours, that it may continue to be long the joy of the whole earth, in the perfection of its beauty, and may be a pattern, as well as give protection, to all the churches of God.

I now turn to my brethren and successors in the episcopal order: You are they in whose hands the government of the Church is put; in some respects it is believed to be wholly in you, though I know, and have often felt it, that your power is so limited, that you can do little; exemptions (a scandalous remnant of Popery) take a great part of your dioceses out of your hands. This I have often wondred at, that some who plead, that the government of the Church is settled by divine authority in the Bishops, can yet, by the virtue of papal bulls, confirmed by an unhappy clause in an act of Parliament, exercise episcopal jurisdiction; which is plainly to act by virtue of the secular power, in opposition to that, which, according to their principles, is settled by a divine appointment. Archdeacons visitations were an invention of the latter ages, in which the Bishops, neglecting their duty, cast a great part of their care upon them: Now their visitations are only for form and for fees; and they are a charge on the Clergy; so, when this matter is well looked into, I hope Archdeacons, with many other burdens that lay heavy on the Clergy, shall be taken away. All the various instruments, upon which heavy fees must be raised, were the infamous contrivances of the canonists, and can never be maintained, when well examined. I say nothing to you of your lives, I hope you are and shall ever be shining lights; I wish the pomp of living, and the keeping high tables could be quite taken away; it is a great charge, and no very decent one; a great devourer of time; it lets in much promiscuous company, and much vain discourse upon you: Even civility may carry you too far, in a freedom and familiarity, that will make

My advices to the Bishops.

you look too like the reſt of the world; I hope this is a burden to you: It was indeed one of the greateſt burdens of my life, to ſee ſo much time loſt, to hear ſo much idle talk, and to be living in a luxurious waſte of that, which might have been much better beſtowed. I had not ſtrength enough to break through that, which cuſtom has impoſed on thoſe, provided with plentiful Biſhopricks; I pray God to help you to find a decent way of laying this down.

The wives and children of Biſhops ought to be exemplary in their apparel, and in their whole deportment; remembring that no part of the Biſhops honours belongs to them: The wife of a Biſhop ought to viſit the widow and the fatherleſs, and by a grave authority, inſtruct and admoniſh as well as oblige and favour the wives of the reſt of the Clergy.

The children of Biſhops ought to be well inſtructed, and managed with all gravity; Biſhops ought not to preſs them beyond their inclinations to take orders: For this looks as if they would thruſt them, how unfit or unwilling ſoever, into ſuch preferments as they can give or procure for them: On the contrary, though their children ſhould deſire to go into orders, they ought not to ſuffer it, unleſs they ſee in them a good mind and ſincere intentions, with the other neceſſary qualifications; in which they cannot be deceived, unleſs they have a mind to deceive themſelves: It is a betraying of their truſt, and the worſt ſort of ſimony, to provide children with great dignities and benefices, only as an eſtate to be given them, without a due regard to their capacities or tempers. Ordinations are the only parts of the epiſcopal function, on which the law has laid no reſtraint; ſo this ought to be heavy on your thoughts.

Ordination weeks were always dreadful things to me, when I remembred thoſe words, lay hands ſuddenly on no man, be not partaker of other men's ſins: Keep thyſelf pure. It is true, thoſe who

who came to me were generally well prepared as to their ſtudies, and they brought teſtimonials and titles, which is all that in our preſent conſtitution can be demanded: I never put over the examining them to my chaplains: I did that always myſelf, and examined them chiefly on the proofs of revealed religion, and the terms of ſalvation, and the new covenant through Chriſt; for thoſe are the fundamentals: But my principal care was to awaken their conſciences, to make them conſider whether they had a motion of the holy Ghoſt, calling them to the function, and to make them apprehend, what belonged both to a ſpiritual life, and to the paſtoral care. On theſe ſubjects I ſpoke much and often to every one of them a-part, and ſometimes to them all together, beſides the publick examination of them with my chapter.

An expedient concerning ordinations.

This was all that I could do: But alas! how defective is this! and it is too well known how eaſy the clergy are, in ſigning teſtimonials: That which I here propoſe is, that every man, who intends to be ordained, ſhould be required to come and acquaint the Biſhop with it a year before; that ſo he may then talk to his conſcience, and give him good directions, both as to his ſtudies and the courſe of his life and devotions; and that he may recommend him to the care and inſpection of the beſt clergymen, that he knows in the neighbourhood where he lives; that ſo he may have from him, by ſome other conveyance than the perſon concerned, ſuch an account of him as he may rely on. This is all that can be propoſed, till our univerſities are put in a better method, or till ſeminaries can be raiſed, for maintaining a number of perſons, to be duly prepared for holy orders.

The duties of a Biſhop.

As to the labours of a Biſhop, they ought to think themſelves obliged to preach, as much as their health and age can admit of; this the form of ordaining Biſhops ſets before them, together with

the ſenſe of the church in all ages; the complaint of the beſt men, in the worſt ages, ſhews how much the ſloth and lazineſs of Biſhops will be cried out on, and how acceptable the labours of preaching Biſhops have always been: The people run to hear them, and hearken to their ſermons, with more than ordinary attention: You will find great comfort in your labours this way, and will ſee the fruits of them. The diſcreet conduct of your clergy is to be your chief care; keep not at too great a diſtance, and yet let them not grow too familiar: A Biſhop's diſcourſe ſhould be well ſeaſoned, turned chiefly to good ſubjects, inſtruction in the matters of religion, and the paſtoral care: And the more diverting ones ought to be matters of learning, criticiſm, or hiſtory. It is in the power of a Biſhop to let no man deſpiſe him.

A grave but ſweet deportment and a holy converſation will command a general reſpect; and as for ſome hot and froward ſpirits, the leſs they are meddled with, they will be the leſs able to do miſchief; they delight in oppoſition, which they think will make them the more conſiderable. I have had much experience this way, nothing mortifies them ſo much as neglect; the more abſtracted Biſhops live (from the world, from Courts, from cabals, and from parties) they will have the more quiet within themſelves; their thoughts will be free and leſs intangled, and they will in concluſion be the more reſpected by all, eſpecially if an integrity and a juſt freedom appear among them in the Houſe of Lords, where they will be much obſerved; and judgments will be made of them there, that will follow them home to their dioceſſes.

Their abſtraction from Courts and intrigues.

Nothing will alienate the nation more from them, than their becoming tools to a Court, and giving up the liberties of their country, and advancing arbitrary deſigns; nothing will work more effectually on the diſſenters, than a courſe of moderation towards them; this will diſarm their paſ-

ſions,

ſions, and when that is done, they may be better dealt with in point of reaſon; all care ought to be taken to ſtifle new controverſies in their birth, to check new opinions and vain curioſities.

Upon the whole matter, Biſhops ought to conſider, that the honour given them, and the revenues belonging to them, are ſuch rewards for former ſervices, and ſuch encouragements to go on to more labour and diligence, as ought to be improved, as ſo many helps and advantages for carrying on the work of the Goſpel, and their heavenly Father's buſineſs: They ought to meditate on theſe things, and be wholly in them; ſo that their profiting may appear to all. They ought to preach in ſeaſon, and out of ſeaſon, to exhort, admoniſh, and rebuke, with all authority.

But if they abandon themſelves to ſloth and idleneſs; if they neglect their proper function, and follow a ſecular, a vain, a covetous or a luxurious courſe of life; if they, not content with educating their children well, and with ſuch a competency as may ſet them afloat in the world, think of building up their own houſes, and raiſing up great eſtates, they will put the world on many unacceptable enquiries: Wherefore is this waſte made? why are theſe revenues continued to men, who make ſuch an ill uſe of them? and why is an order kept up, that does the church ſo little good, and gives it ſo much ſcandal? The violences of Archbiſhop Laud, and his promoting arbitrary power ruined himſelf and the church both. A return of the like practices will bring with it the like dreadful conſequences: The labours and the learning, the moderation and good lives of the Biſhops of this age have changed the nation much, with relation to them, and have poſſeſſed them of a general eſteem; ſome fiery ſpirits only excepted, who hate and revile them for that, which is their true glory: I hope another age may carry this yet much further, that ſo they may

may be univerſally looked on, as the true and tender-hearted fathers of the church.

Concerning patrons.

The affinity of the matter leads me, before I enter on another ſcene, to ſay ſomewhat concerning the patronage of benefices, which have a care of ſouls belonging to them: It is a noble dignity in a family; it was highly eſteemed in the times of Popery, becauſe the patron was to be named, in all the maſſes ſaid in his church: There is a more real value in it in our conſtitution, ſince the patron has the nomination of him, to whom the care of ſouls is to be committed; which muſt take place, unleſs ſome juſt and legal exception can be made by the Biſhop. Even that is not eaſy to be maintained, in the Courts of law, where the Biſhop will ſoon be run into ſo great an expence, that I am afraid many, rather than venture on that, receive unworthy men into the ſervice of the church, who are in the ſequel reproaches to it; and this is often the caſe of the richeſt and beſt-endowed benefices.

Some ſell the next advowſon, which I know is ſaid to be legal, though the incumbent lies at the point of death; others do not ſtick to buy and ſell benefices, when open and vacant, though this is declared to be ſimony by law: Parents often buy them for their children, and reckon that is their portion; in that caſe, it is true, there is no perjury in taking the oath, for the perſon preſented is no party to the bargain: Often eccleſiaſticks themſelves buy the next advowſon, and lodge it with truſtees for their own advantage.

Where nothing of all this traffick intervenes, patrons beſtow benefices on their children or friends, without conſidering either their abilities or merit; favour or kindred being the only thing that weighs with them. When all this is laid together, how great a part of the benefices of England are diſpoſed of, if not ſimoniacally, yet at leaſt unworthily, without regard to ſo ſacred a truſt,

as the care of ſouls? certainly patrons, who, without due care and enquiry, put ſouls into bad hands, have much to anſwer for.

I will not ſay, that a patron is bound always to beſtow his church on the beſt man he can find; that may put him on anxieties, out of which it will not be eaſy to extricate himſelf; nor will it be always poſſible to ballance the different Excellences of men, who may have various talents, that lye ſeveral ways, and all of them may be uſeful, ſome more, ſome leſs: But in this I am poſitive, that no patron anſwers the obligation of that truſt, unleſs he is well perſuaded, that the clerk he preſents is a truly good man, has a competent meaſure of knowledge, zeal and diſcretion, ſo ſuited to the people, for whom he names him, that he has reaſon to believe, he will be a faithful paſtor and a prudent guide to them.

Patrons ought to take this on their conſcience, to manage it with great caution, and in the fear of God, and not to enter into that filthy merchandize of the ſouls of men, which is too common; it is like to be a moth on their eſtates, and may bring a curſe on their families, as well as on their perſons.

Non-reſidence and pluralities.

I do not enter into the ſcandalous practices of non-reſidence and pluralities, which are ſheltred by ſo many colours of law among us; whereas the church of Rome, from whence we had thoſe and many other abuſes, has freed herſelf from this, under which we ſtill labour, to our great and juſt reproach: This is ſo ſhameful a profanation of holy things, that it ought to be treated with deteſtation and horrour: Do ſuch men think on the vows, they made on their ordination; on the rules in the ſcriptures, or on the nature of their function, or that it is a care of ſouls? how long, how long ſhall this be the peculiar diſgrace of our church, which, for aught I know, is the only church in the world that tolerates it? I muſt add, that I do not reckon the holding poor livings that lie contiguous,

guous, a plurality, where both are looked after, and both afford only a competent maintenance.

Concerning the body of the people.

I have now gone through the moſt important things, that occur to my thoughts with relation to the clergy: I turn next to ſuch obſervations, reflections, and advices, as relate to the laity. I begin with the body of the people: The commonalty of this nation are much the happieſt, and live the eaſieſt and the moſt plentifully of any, that ever I ſaw: They are very ſagacious and ſkilful in managing all their concerns; but at the ſame time it is not to be conceived how ignorant they are, in the matters of religion: The diſſenters have a much larger ſhare of knowledge among them, than is among thoſe who come to our churches. This is the more to be wondered at, conſidering the plainneſs, in which matters of religion are wrote in this age, and the many ſmall books concerning theſe, that have been publiſhed of late years, which go at eaſy rates, and of which many thouſands are every year ſent about, by charitable ſocieties in London, to be freely given to ſuch as will but take them, and read them: So that this ignorance ſeems to be obſtinate and incurable.

Upon this ſubject, all that I can propoſe, lies in two advices to the clergy: The one is, that they catechize the youth much at church, not only aſking the queſtions and hearing the anſwers, but joining to that the explaining the terms in other words, and by turning to the bible for ſuch paſſages, as prove or enlarge on them: The doing this conſtantly, would infuſe into the next age, a higher meaſure of knowledge, than the preſent is like to be bleſſed with. Long ſermons, in which points of divinity or morality are regularly handled, are above the capacity of the people; ſhort and plain ones, upon a large portion of ſcripture, would be better hearkened to, and have a much better effect; they would make the hearers underſtand and love the ſcriptures more. Preachers ought to dwell often,

n their ſermons, on thoſe ſins that their hearers muſt needs know themſelves guilty of, if they are o; ſuch as ſwearing, lying, cheating, drunkenneſs, leud deportment, breach of promiſe, love of he world, anger, envy, malice, pride and luxury: Short diſcourſes upon theſe, and often repeated, in many glances and reflections on them, ſetting forth he real evil of them, with the ill conſequences that ollow, not only to others, but to the perſons themelves, are the beſt means can be thought of, for reorming them; and theſe will have an effect on ome, if not on many. But above all, and in order o all the reſt, they ought to be called on, upon all occaſions, to reflect on their ways, to conſider how hey live, to pray in ſecret to God, confeſſing their ins to him, begging pardon and mercy for what is aſt, and his holy Spirit to aſſiſt, ſtrengthen, and direct them for the time to come, forming ſincere reolutions to amend their ways, with relation to every articular ſin, that they find they may have fallen into. If the clergy will faithfully do their duty in this nethod, and join to it earneſt prayers for their peole, they may hope through the bleſſing of God to ucceed better in their labours. The people ought o be often put in mind of the true end of the reſt n the Lord's day, which is chiefly to give them ime and opportunity, for meditations and reflecions on themſelves, on what they have ſaid or done, nd on what has befallen them the former week; nd to conſider what may be before them, in the week they are entring on. Miniſters ought to viſit heir people, not only when they are ſick unto death, ut when they are in an ill ſtate of health, or when they are under affliction: Theſe are the times, in which their ſpirits are tender, and they will beſt bear with a due freedom, which ought to be managed, in the diſcreeteſt and moſt affectionate manner: And a clergyman ought not to be a reſpecter of perſons, and neglect the meaneſt of his cure:

cure: They have as immortal ſouls as the greateſt, and for which Chriſt has paid the ſame ranſom.

Of the Gentry. From the commonalty I turn to the gentry: They are for the moſt part the worſt inſtructed, and the leaſt knowing of any of their rank, I ever went amongſt. The Scotch, though leſs able to bear the expence of a learned education, are much more knowing: The reaſon of which is this; the Scotch, even of indifferent fortunes, ſend private tutors with their children, both to ſchools and colleges; theſe look after the young gentlemen, mornings and evenings, and read over with them what they have learned, and ſo make them perfecter in it: They generally go abroad a year or two, and ſee the world; this obliges them to behave themſelves well. Whereas a gentleman here is often both ill taught and ill bred: This makes him haughty and inſolent. The gentry are not early acquainted with the principles of religion: So that, after they have forgot their catechiſm, they acquire no more new knowledge, but what they learn in plays and romances: They grow ſoon to find it a modiſh thing, that looks like wit and ſpirit, to laugh at religion and virtue; and ſo become crude and unpoliſhed infidels. If they have taken a wrong tincture at the univerſity, that too often diſpoſes them to hate and deſpiſe all thoſe, who ſeparate from the Church, though they can give no better reaſon than the Papiſts have for hating hereticks, becauſe they forſake the Church: In thoſe ſeats of education, inſtead of being formed to love their country and conſtitution, the laws and liberties of it, they are rather diſpoſed to love arbitrary government, and to become ſlaves to abſolute monarchy: A change of intereſt, provocation, or ſome other conſideration may ſet them right again as to the publick; but they have no inward principle of love to their country, and of publick liberty: So that they are eaſily brought to

like

like ſlavery, if they may be the tools for managing it.

This is a diſmal repreſentation of things; I have ſeen the nation thrice on the brink of ruin, by men thus tainted. After the reſtoration, all were running faſt into ſlavery; had King Charles the Second been attentive to thoſe bad deſigns (which he purſued afterwards with more caution) upon his firſt return, ſlavery and abſolute power might then have been ſettled into a law, with a revenue able to maintain it: He plaid away that game without thought, and he had then honeſt Miniſters, who would not ſerve him in it; after all that he did, during the courſe of his reign, it was ſcarce credible that the ſame temper ſhould have returned in his time; yet he recovered it in the laſt four years of his reign; and the gentry of England were as active and zealous, to throw up all their liberties, as their anceſtors ever had been to preſerve them. This continued above half a year in his brother's reign; and he depended ſo much upon it, that he thought it could never go out of his hands: But he, or rather his prieſts had the ſkill and dexterity to play this game likewiſe away, and loſe it a ſecond time; ſo that, at the revolution, all ſeemed to come again into their wits. But men, who have no principles, cannot be ſteady; now the greater part of the capital gentry ſeem to return again to a love of tyranny, provided they may be the under-tyrants themſelves; and they ſeem to be even uneaſy with a Court, when it will not be as much a Court as they would have it. This is a folly of ſo ſingular a nature, that really it wants a name; it is natural for poor men, who have little to loſe, and much to hope for, to become the inſtruments of ſlavery; but it is an extravagance, peculiar to our age, to ſee rich men grow as it were in love with ſlavery and arbitrary power. The root of all this is, that our gentry are not betimes poſſeſſed with a true meaſure of ſolid knowledge

The danger of loſing publick liberty.

ledge and ſound religion, with a love to their country, a hatred of tyranny, and a zeal for liberty. Plutarch's lives, with the Greek and Roman hiſtory, ought to be early put in their hands; they ought to be well acquainted with all hiſtory, more particularly that of our own nation; which they ſhould not read in abridgments, but in the fulleſt and moſt copious collectors of it, that they may ſee to the bottom, what is our conſtitution, and what are our laws, what are the methods bad Princes have taken to enſlave us, and by what conduct we have been preſerved: Gentlemen ought to obſerve theſe things, and to entertain one another often upon theſe ſubjects, to raiſe in themſelves, and to ſpread around them to all others, a noble ardor for law and liberty. They ought to underſtand Popery well, to view it in its politicks, as well as in its religious corruptions, that they may obſerve and guard againſt their ſecreteſt practices; particularly that main one, that prevails ſo fatally among us, of making us deſpiſe the foreign churches, and hate the Diſſenters at home. The whole body of Proteſtants, if united, might be an equal match to the church of Rome: It is much ſuperior to them in wealth and in force, if it were animated with the zeal, which the monaſtick orders, but chiefly the Jeſuits, ſpread through their whole communion: Whereas the reformed are cold and unconcerned, as well as disjointed in matters that relate to religion. The chief maxim by which men, who have a true zeal for their religion and their country, ought to govern themſelves, is, to live within the extent of their eſtates, to be above luxury and vanity, and all expences that waſte their fortunes: Luxury muſt drive them to court favour, to depend on Miniſters, and to aſpire after places and penſions; and as the ſeeking after theſe does often compleat the ruin of broken families, ſo in many they prove only a reprieve, and not a recovery; whereas he, who is contented

with

with his fortune, and measures his way of living by it, has another root within him; out of which every noble and generous thought will naturally spring. Publick liberty has no sure foundation but in virtue, in parsimony and moderation: Where these fail, liberty may be preserved by accidents and circumstances of affairs, but it has no bottom to rest securely on. A knowing and virtuous gentleman, who understands his religion and loves it, who practises the true rules of virtue, without affectation and moroseness, who knows enough of law, to keep his neighbours in order, and to give them good advice; who keeps meetings for his county, and restrains vice and disorder at them; who lives hospitably, frugally and charitably; who respects and encourages good clergymen, and worships God, both in his family and at church; who educates his children well, who treats his servants gently, and deals equitably with his tenants and all others, with whom he has any concerns; such a man shines, and is a publick blessing to all that see him, or come near him. Some such instances are yet left among us; but alas! there are not many of them. Can there be any thing more barbarous, or rather treacherous, than for gentlemen to think it is one of the honours of their houses, that none must go out of them sober; it is but a little more infamous to poison them; and yet this passes as a character of a noble house-keeper, who entertains his friends kindly. Idleness and ignorance are the ruin of the greatest part, who, if they are not fit for better things, should descend to any thing, rather than suffer themselves to sink into sloth; that will carry them to the excesses of hunting, gaming, and drinking, which may ruin both soul, body and estate. If a man, by an ill-managed or a neglected education, is so turned, that every sort of study or reading is a burden; then he

ought to try if he has a genius to any mechaniſm, that may be an entertainment to him: The managing a garden is a noble, and may be made a uſeful amuſement; the taking ſome part of his eſtate into his own hands, if he looks carefully to it, will both employ his time well, and may turn to a good account; in a word, ſome employments may be better than others; but there is no employment ſo bad, as the having none at all; the mind will contract a ruſt, and an unfitneſs for every good thing; and a man muſt either fill up his time with good or at leaſt innocent buſineſs, or it will run to the worſt ſort of waſte, to ſin and vice.

Errors in education

I have often thought it a great error, to waſte young gentlemen's years ſo long, in learning Latin, by ſo tedious a grammar; I know thoſe, who are bred to the profeſſions in literature, muſt have the Latin correctly; and for that, the rules of grammar are neceſſary: But theſe are not at all requiſite to thoſe, who need only ſo much Latin, as thoroughly to underſtand and delight in the Roman authors and poets. But ſuppoſe a youth had, either for want of memory or of application, an incurable averſion to Latin, his education is not for that to be deſpaired of; there is much noble knowledge to be had in the Engliſh and French languages; geography, hiſtory, chiefly that of our own country, the knowledge of nature, and the more practical parts of the mathematicks (if he has not a genius for the demonſtrative) may make a gentleman very knowing, though he has not a word of Latin; there is a fineneſs of thought, and a nobleneſs of expreſſion indeed in the Latin authors, that will make them the entertainment of a man's whole life, if he once underſtands and reads them with delight: But if this cannot be attained to, I would not have it reckoned, that the education of an ill Latin ſcholar is to be given over.

over. A competent meaſure of the knowledge of the law is a good foundation, for diſtinguiſhing a gentleman; but I am in doubt, whether his being for ſome time in the inns of court will contribute much to this, if he is not a ſtudious perſon: Thoſe who think they are there, only to paſs away ſo many of their years, commonly run together, and live both idly and viciouſly. I ſhould imagine it a much better way, though it is not much practiſed, to get a learned young lawyer, who has not got into much buſineſs, to come and paſs away a long vacation or two with a gentleman, to carry him through ſuch an introduction to the ſtudy of the law, as may give him a full view of it, and good directions how to proſecute his ſtudy in it. A competent ſkill in this makes a man very uſeful in his country, both in conducting his own affairs, and in giving good advice to thoſe about him: It will enable him to be a good juſtice of peace, and to ſettle matters by arbitration, ſo as to prevent law-ſuits; and, which ought to be the top of an Engliſh gentleman's ambition, to be an able parliament man: to which no gentleman ought to pretend, unleſs he has a true zeal for his country, with an inflexible integrity and reſolution to purſue what appears to him juſt and right, and for the good of the publick: The Parliament is the fountain of law, and the fence of liberty; and no ſort of inſtruction is ſo neceſſary for a gentleman, as that which may qualify him to appear there with figure and reputation.

And in marriages

Gentlemen in their marriages ought to conſider a great many things more than fortune, though, generally ſpeaking, that is the only thing ſought for: A good underſtanding, good principles, and a good temper, with a liberal education, and acceptable perſon, are the firſt things to be conſidered: And certainly fortune ought to come

after all these. Those bargains now in fashion make often unhallowed marriages, in which (besides the greater evils) more fortune is often wasted, than is brought, with a vain, a foolish, an indiscreet and a hated wife. The first thought in choosing a wife ought to be, to find a help meet for the man: In a married state the mutual study of both ought to be to help and please one another: This is the foundation of all domestick happiness; as to stay at home and to love home, is the greatest help to industry, order and the good government of a family. I have dwelt the longer on this article, because on the forming the gentry well, the good government of the nation, both in and out of parliament does so much depend.

Of trade and industry.

As for the men of trade and business, they are, generally speaking, the best body in the nation, generous, sober, and charitable: So that, while the people in the country are so immersed in their affairs, that the sense of religion cannot reach them, there is a better spirit stirring in our cities; more knowledge, more zeal, and more charity, with a great deal more of devotion. There may be too much of vanity, with too pompous an exterior, mixed with these in the capital city; but upon the whole, they are the best we have: Want of exercise is a great prejudice to their health, and a corrupter of their minds, by raising vapours and melancholy, that fills many with dark thoughts, rendring religion, which affords the truest joy, a burden to them, and making them even a burden to themselves; this furnishes prejudices against religion to those, who are but too much disposed to seek for them. The too constant intercourse of visits in town is a vast consumption of time, and gives much occasion to talk, which is at best idle, if not worse: This cer-

certainly wants regulation, and is the effect of idleneſs and vanity.

The ſtage is the great corrupter of the town; and the bad people of the town have been the chief corrupters of the ſtage, who run moſt after thoſe plays that defile the ſtage and the audience: Poets will ſeek to pleaſe, as actors will look for ſuch pieces, as draw the moſt ſpectators: They pretend their deſign is to diſcourage vice; but they do really recommend it, in the moſt effectual manner. It is a ſhame to our nation and religion, to ſee the ſtage ſo reformed in France, and ſo polluted ſtill in England. Moliere for comedy, and Racine for tragedy, are great patterns; few can, and as few will ſtudy to copy after them. But, till another ſcene appears, certainly our plays are the greateſt debauchers of the nation. Gaming is a waſte of time, that riſes out of idleneſs, and is kept up by covetouſneſs; thoſe who can think, read, or write to any purpoſe, and thoſe who underſtand what converſation and friendſhip are, will not want ſuch a help to wear out the day; ſo that upon the whole matter, ſloth and ignorance, bad education and ill company, are the chief ſources of all our vice and diſorders. Of the ſtage.

The ill methods of ſchools and colleges give the chief riſe to the irregularities of the gentry; as the breeding young women to vanity, dreſſing, and a falſe appearance of wit and behaviour, without proper work or a due meaſure of knowledge and a ſerious ſenſe of religion, is the ſource of the corruption of that ſex: Something like monaſteries without vows would be a glorious deſign, and might be ſo ſet on foot, as to be the honour of a Queen on the throne: But I will purſue this no further. Of educating the other ſex.

My next addreſs is to the nobility; moſt of what I have propoſed to our gentry does in a Of the nobility.

more eminent manner belong to them; the higher their condition is raiſed above other gentlemen, ſo much the more eminent ought they to be in knowledge and virtue; the ſhare they have in judicature in the Houſe of Lords, ſhould oblige them to acquaint themſelves with the rules and principles of law; though an unbiaſſed integrity, neither moved by friendſhip nor party, with a true underſtanding, will for the moſt part direct them in their judgment, ſince few caſes occur, where the point of law is dark or doubtful.

Of their education.

Every perſon of a high rank, whoſe eſtate can bear it, ought to have two perſons to manage his education; the one a governor to form his mind, to give him true notions, to repreſent religion and virtue in a proper light to him, to give him a view of geography, not barely deſcribing the maps, but adding to it the natural hiſtory of every country, its productions, arts, and trade, with the religion and government of the country, and a general idea of the hiſtory of the world, and of the various revolutions, that have happened in it. Such a view will open a young perſon's mind: It muſt be often gone over, to fix it well. The ancient government in Greece, but much more that of Rome, muſt be minutely delivered, that the difference, between a juſt and a vicious government, may be well apprehended. The fall of the Roman greatneſs, under the Emperors, by reaſon of the abſolute power, that let vice in upon them, which corrupted not only their courts, but their armies, ought to be fully opened: Then the Gothick government, and the feudal law ſhould be clearly explained, to open the original of our own conſtitution. In all this, the chief care of a wiſe and good former of youth ought to be, to poſſeſs a young mind with noble principles of juſtice, liberty

berty and virtue, as the true basis of government; and with an aversion to violence and arbitrary power, servile flattery, Faction and luxury, from which the corruption and ruin of all governments have arisen.

To this governor (qualified for all this, to be sought out and hired at any rate) I would join a master for languages and other things, in which this young Lord is to be instructed; who ought to be put under the direction and eye of the governor, that his time may not be lost in trifles; that nothing of pedantry or of affectation may be infused into a young mind, which is to be prepared for great things. A simplicity of style, with a true and grave pronunciation, ought to be well looked to; and this young nobleman ought to be accustomed, as he grows up, to speak his thoughts, on the sudden, with a due force and weight both of words and voice. I have often wondered to see parents, who are to leave vast estates, and who stick at no expence in other things, yet be so frugal and narrow in the education of their children. They owe to their country a greater care in preparing the eldest, to make that figure in it, to which he is born: And they owe to their younger children, who are not to be so plentifully provided, such a liberal education, as may fit them to answer the dignity of their birth, and prepare them for employments, by which they may in time give a further strength and addition to their family. I have been amazed to see, how profuse some are, in procuring good dancing, fencing, and riding-masters for their children, and setting them out in fine clothes; and how sparing they are in that, which is the chief and most important thing, and which in time may become the most useful, both to themselves and to their country. I look on the education of the youth, as the foundation of all that can be pro-

poſed, for bettering the next age: It ought to be one of the chief cares of all governments, though there is nothing more univerſally neglected. How do ſome of our Peers ſhine, meerly by their virtue and knowledge; and what a contemptible figure do others make, with all their high titles and great eſtates?

Of their chaplains.

Noblemen begin to neglect the having chaplains in their houſes, and I do not much wonder at it, when I reflect on the behaviour of too many of theſe; light and idle, vain and inſolent, impertinent and pedantick; by this want however, the worſhip of God, and the inſtruction of ſervants is quite neglected: But, if a little more care were taken to chooſe well, a Lord might make a good uſe of a chaplain, not only for thoſe ends, which I have mentioned, but for the reading ſuch books, as the Lord deſires to be well informed about, but has not leiſure to peruſe himſelf. Theſe he may read by his chaplain, and receive an account of them from him, and ſee what are the principal things to be learnt from them, for which he may find leiſure, though not for the whole book: By this means he may keep his chaplain well imployed, and may encreaſe his own ſtock of knowledge, and be well furniſhed with relation to all new books and new queſtions, that are ſtarted. The family of a nobleman, well choſen and well ordered, might look like a little court in his country: For though it is a happineſs to the nation, that the great number of idle and uſeleſs retainers, that were about noblemen anciently, is much reduced; yet ſtill they muſt entertain many ſervants, to be either nuſances where they live, or to ſet a pattern to others. The greater men are, they ought to be the more modeſt and affable, and more eaſy of acceſs, that ſo they may, by the beſt ſort of popularity, render themſelves acceptable to their country;

country; they ought more particularly, to protect the oppreſſed, to mortify inſolence and injuſtice, and to enter into the true grievances of their country; that they may repreſent theſe, where it may be proper; and ſhew at leaſt a tender care of thoſe, who ought to be protected by them, if they cannot effectually procure a redreſs of their grievances. A continued purſuit of ſuch methods, with an exemplary deportment, would ſoon reſtore the nobility to their ancient luſtre, from which they ſeem very ſenſible how much they are fallen, though they do not take the proper methods to recover it. Have we not ſeen in our time four or five Lords, by their knowledge, good judgment and integrity, raiſe the Houſe of Peers to a pitch of reputation and credit, that ſeemed once beyond the expectation or belief of thoſe, who now ſee it? A progreſs in this method will give them ſuch authority in the nation, that they will be able, not only to ſupport their own dignity, but even to ſupport the throne and the church. If ſo ſmall a number has raiſed peerage to ſuch a regard, that the people, contrary to all former precedents, have conſidered them more than their own repreſentatives; what might not be expected from a greater number purſuing the ſame methods? Theſe would become again that, which their title imports, the Peers of the Crown as well as of the kingdom, of which that noble right of putting on their coronets, at the coronation, is a clear proof. Great titles, ſeparated from the great eſtates and the intereſt their anceſtors had in their countries, muſt ſink, if not ſupported with ſomewhat of more value, great merit and a ſublime virtue.

Concerning the two Houſes of Parliament.

After I have offered what I think of the greateſt importance to the ſeveral ranks of men in the nation, I go next to conſider that auguſt body, in which they are all united; I mean the Parliament.

ment. As long as elections are set to sale, so long we are under a disease in our vitals, that if it be not remedied in time, must ruin us at last, and end in a change of government; and what that may be, God only knows.

Of Elections. All laws that can be made, will prove ineffectual to cure so great an evil, till there comes to be a change and reformation of morals in the nation; we see former laws are evaded, and so will all the laws that can be made, till the candidates and electors both become men of another temper and other principles, than appear now among them: The expence of elections ruins families; and these families will come in time to expect a full reparation from the Crown; or they will take their revenges on it, if that hope fails them: The commons will grow insolent upon it, and look on the gentry as in their dependence; during the war, and while the heat of parties ferments so much, it is not easy to find a proper remedy for this. When the war is over, one expedient in the power of the Crown, is to declare that elections to Parliament shall be annual: But if the same heat and rivalry of parties should still continue, that would ruin families but so much the sooner.

The most promising expedient, next to a general reformation, which may seem too remote and too hopeless a prospect, is to try how this great division of the nation into whig and tory may be lessened, if not quite removed: Great numbers on both sides are drawn, to take up many groundless jealousies one of another, with which men of honest minds are possessed.

Of the parties of whig and tory. There are many of the tories, that without doubt look towards St. Germains and France; but this is not true of the bulk of their party. Many infidels, who hate all religion and all churches alike (being only against the Church of England because it is in possession) do join with the whigs and the dissenters, and

appear

appear for them; from thence the ill-disposed tories possess many of those, who are better minded, with an opinion, that the whigs favour the dissenters, only to ruin and destroy religion: And great multitudes of unthinking and ignorant men are drawn into this snare. The principles of the whigs lead them to be for the revolution, and for every thing that has been done to support and establish that; and therefore those who, in their hearts, hate the revolution, fortify and promote their designs, by keeping up a jealousy of all that body, which alone can and must support it. The whigs are indeed favoured by the dissenters, because they see their principles are for toleration, in which, it is visible, that the dissenters acquiesce, without pursuing any design, contrary to the established church, into which the far greater number of them might be brought, if but a very few concessions were made them. On the other hand, the whigs, seeing the leaders of the tories drive on ill designs so visibly, (endeavouring to weaken the government, to disjoint the alliance, and to put an untimely end to the war, thereby serving the interests of France and of the Pretender) and that they are followed in this by the body of the tories, who promote their elections, and adhere to them in all divisions in the two Houses of Parliament, and are united in one party with them, from thence conclude, that they are all equally concerned, and alike guilty: And thus they are jealous of them all. This aversion is daily growing, and will certainly continue as long as the war lasts; when that is ended, it may possibly abate: but so great a disease will not be cured, 'till a Prince of spirit and authority, managed with temper and discretion, undertakes the cure. We see oaths and subscriptions make no discrimination, since the abjuration, though penned as fully as words can go, has been taken by some, who seem resolved to swallow down every thing in order to the

the throwing up all at once, if they ſhould come to have a clear majority in Parliament, and durſt lay aſide the maſk.

In the Parliament of 1701, called the impeaching Parliament, and in the firſt Parliament called by the Queen, there was a majority of tories; yet it appeared, the men of ill deſigns durſt not venture to diſcover themſelves to their party and to the nation; ſo they proceeded with caution. They deſigned in 1701 to have had the Duke of Anjou acknowledged, in order to have diſgraced the late King, and his faithfulleſt Miniſters; that ſo the Princes abroad, who could do nothing without aſſiſtance from England, deſpairing of that, might be forced to ſubmit to the offers France made them. In the firſt year of the Queen's reign, they durſt make no viſible ſteps that way neither; but they tried to raiſe the heat againſt the diſſenters, to make a breach on the toleration, and to give that body of men ſuch a jealouſy of the government, as ſhould quite diſhearten them, who were always the readieſt to lend money to the publick, without which the war could not be carried on vigorouſly. By this it may appear, that many of the tories have not thoſe views and deſigns, that perhaps ſome of their leaders may be juſtly charged with. Now a wiſe and an active Prince may find methods, to undeceive thoſe who are thus fatally impoſed on, and led blindfold into the ſerving the ill deſigns of others; eſpecially, if he will propoſe it, as a ſure way to his favour, for all whom he employs, to procure a better underſtanding and frequent meetings, among the men of good lives and ſoft tempers in both parties, who by a mutual converſation will ſo open themſelves to one another, that jealouſies may by this means be eaſily removed. I can carry this no further at preſent; men of good intentions will eaſily find out proper methods to bring about this worthy deſign

of

of healing a breach, that has rent the nation from top to bottom. The parties are now ſo ſtated and kept up, not only by the elections of Parliament-men that return every third year, but even by the yearly elections of Mayors and corporation-men, that they know their ſtrength; and in every corner of the nation, the two parties ſtand, as it were, liſted againſt one another. This may come, in ſome critical time or other, at the death of a Prince, or on an invaſion, to have terrible effects; as at preſent it creates, among the beſt of each ſide, a coldneſs and a jealouſy, and a great deal of hatred and virulence among the much greater part.

The correction of our laws.

There are two things of a very publick nature, that deſerve the care of a Parliament: The one muſt begin in the Houſe of Lords, and the other in the Houſe of Commons. The law of England is the greateſt grievance of the nation, very expenſive and dilatory: There is no end of ſuits, eſpecially when they are brought into Chancery. It is a matter of deep ſtudy, to be exact in the law; great advantages are taken, upon inconſiderable errors; and there are loud complaints of that, which ſeems to be the chief ſecurity of property, I mean juries, which are ſaid to be much practiſed upon. If a happy peace gives us quiet, to look to our own affairs, there cannot be a worthier deſign undertaken, than to reduce the law into method, to digeſt it into a body, and to regulate the Chancery, ſo as to cut off the tediouſneſs of ſuits, and, in a word, to compile one entire ſyſtem of our laws. The work cannot be undertaken, much leſs finiſhed, but by ſo great an authority, as at leaſt an addreſs from the Houſe of Lords to the Queen. Nothing, after the war is happily ended, can raiſe the glory of her reign more, than to ſee ſo noble a deſign ſet on foot in her time: This would make her name ſacred to poſterity, which would ſenſibly feel all the taxes,

taxes, they have raiſed, fully repaid them, if the law were made ſhorter, clearer, more certain, and of leſs expence.

Proviſions for the poor.

The other matter, that muſt take it's riſe in the Houſe of Commons, is about the poor, and ſhould be much laid to heart. It may be thought a ſtrange motion from a Biſhop, to wiſh that the act, for charging every pariſh to maintain their own poor, were well reviewed, if not quite taken away; this ſeems to encourage idle and lazy people in their ſloth, when they know they muſt be maintained: I know no other place in the world, where ſuch a law was ever made. Scotland is much the pooreſt part of the iſland; yet the poor there are maintained by the voluntary charities of the people; Holland is the perfecteſt pattern, for putting charity in a good method; the poor work as much as they can; they are humble and induſtrious; they never aſk any charity; and yet they are well relieved. When the poor ſee, that their ſupply muſt in a great meaſure depend on their behaviour and on their induſtry, as far as it can go, it will both make them better in themſelves, and move others to ſupply them more liberally; and when mens offerings are free (and yet are called for, every time they go to church or to Sacrament) this will oblige thoſe, who diſtribute them, to be exact and impartial in it; ſince their ill conduct might make the givers truſt them with their charity no more, but diſtribute it themſelves. If a ſpirit of true piety and charity ſhould ever prevail in this nation, thoſe, whoſe condition raiſes them above the drudgery of ſervile labour, might employ ſome years of their life in this labour of love, and relieve one another in their turn, and ſo diſtribute among them this noble part of Government. All this muſt begin in the Houſe of Commons; and I leave it to the conſideration of the wiſe and worthy members of that body, to turn

their

their thoughts to this, as ſoon as by a happy peace we are delivered from the cares of the war, and are at leiſure to think of our own affairs at home.

Of ſhorter ſeſſions of Parliament.

One thing more I preſume to ſuggeſt, which is, that we may have fewer and ſhorter ſeſſions of Parliament; the ſtaying long in town both waſtes eſtates, and corrupts the morals of members; their beginning ſo late in the day to enter upon buſineſs is one great occaſion of long ſeſſions; they are ſeldom met, 'till about twelve a-clock; and except on a day, in which ſome great points are to be diſcuſſed, upon which the parties divide, they grow diſpoſed to riſe after two or three hours ſitting. The authority of the Prince muſt be interpoſed to make them return to the old hours of eight and nine; and if, from that time, they ſate till two, a great deal of buſineſs might be diſpatched in a ſhort ſeſſion. It is alſo to be hoped that, when the war is ended, Parliaments will not give the neceſſary ſupplies from year to year, as in the time of war, but will ſettle methods for paying the publick debt, and for the ſupport of the government, for two, if not for three years. The ill effects of an annual meeting of Parliament are ſo viſible and ſo great, that I hope nothing but invincible neceſſity will ever keep us under the continuance of ſo great an inconvenience. I ſpeak of this with the more concern, becauſe this is not only a great charge on Biſhops, heavy on the richer, and intollerable to the poorer Biſhopricks; but chiefly, becauſe it calls them away from their dioceſſes, and from minding their proper work, and fills their heads too much with ſecular thoughts, and obliges them to mix too much with ſecular company; from which the more abſtracted they are, as their minds will be purer and freer, ſo they will be able to follow their own buſineſs with leſs diſtraction, in a more conſtant attendance on

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the Miniſtry of the word and prayer, to which, in imitation of the Apoſtles, they ought to give themſelves continually.

I have now gone over what ſeemed to me moſt practicable, as well as moſt important, for all ranks of men ſeverally in the nation, as well as for that great union of them all, in the repreſentative of the whole in Parliament: I have not gone into wild notions of an imaginary reformation, more to be wiſhed than hoped for; but have only touched on ſuch ill practices, and bad diſpoſitions, as with a little care and good government may be in ſome meaſure redreſſed and corrected. And now, having by all theſe, as by ſo many ſteps, riſen up to the throne, I will end this addreſs to the nation, with an humble repreſentation to thoſe, who are to ſit on it.

An addreſs to our Princes.

I have had the honour to be admitted to much free converſation, with five of our ſovereigns; King Charles the Second, King James the Second, King William the Third, Queen Mary, and Queen Anne. King Charles's Behaviour was a thing never enough to be commended; he was a perfectly well-bred man, eaſy of acceſs, free in his diſcourſe, and ſweet in his whole deportment; this was managed with great art, and it covered bad deſigns; it was of ſuch uſe to him, that it may teach all ſucceeding Princes, of what advantage an eaſineſs of acceſs and an obliging behaviour may be: This preſerved him; it often diſarmed thoſe reſentments, which his ill conduct in every thing, both publick and private, poſſeſſed all thinking people with very early, and all ſorts of people at laſt: And yet none could go to him, but they were in a great meaſure ſoftned, before they left him: It looked like a charm, that could hardly be reſiſted: Yet there was no good-nature under that, nor was there any truth in him. King James had great application to buſineſs, though

though without a right underſtanding; that application gave him a reputation, till he took care to throw it off: If he had not come after King Charles, he would have paſt for a Prince of a ſweet temper, and eaſy of acceſs. King William was the reverſe of all this; he was ſcarce acceſſible, and was always cold and ſilent; he minded affairs abroad ſo much, and was ſo ſet on the war, that he ſcarce thought of his government at home: This raiſed a general diſguſt, which was improved by men of ill deſigns, ſo that it perplexed all his affairs, and he could ſcarce ſupport himſelf at home, whilſt he was the admiration of all abroad. Queen Mary was affable, cheerful and lively, ſpoke much, and yet under great reſerves, minded buſineſs, and came to underſtand it well; ſhe kept cloſe to rules, chiefly to thoſe ſet her by the King; and ſhe charmed all that came near her. Queen Anne is eaſy of acceſs, and hears every thing very gently; but opens herſelf to ſo few, and is ſo cold and general in her anſwers, that people ſoon find that the chief application is to be made to her Miniſters and favourites, who in their turns have an entire credit and full power with her: She has laid down the ſplendor of a court too much, and eats privately; ſo that except on Sundays, and a few hours, twice or thrice a week at night in the drawing room, ſhe appears ſo little, that her Court is as it were abandoned. Out of all theſe Princes conduct, and from their ſucceſſes in their affairs, it is evident what ought to be the meaſures of a wiſe and good Prince, who would govern the nation happily and gloriouſly.

The firſt, the moſt eſſential, and moſt indiſpenſable rule for a King is, to ſtudy the intereſt of the nation, to be ever in it, and to be always purſuing it; this will lay in for him ſuch a degree of confidence, that he will be ever ſafe with his people, when they feel they are ſafe in him.

No part of our ſtory ſhews this more viſibly, than Queen Elizabeth's reign, in which the true intereſt of the nation was conſtantly purſued; and this was ſo well underſtood by all, that every thing elſe was forgiven her and her miniſters both. Sir Simon Dewe's journal ſhews a treatment of Parliaments, that could not have been born at any other time, or under any other adminiſtration: This was the conſtant ſupport of King William's reign, and continues to ſupport the preſent reign, as it will ſupport all who adhere ſteadily to it.

A Prince, that would command the affections and purſes of this nation, muſt not ſtudy to ſtretch his prerogative, or be uneaſy under the reſtraints of law; as ſoon as this humour ſhews itſelf, he muſt expect, that a jealouſy of him, and an uneaſy oppoſition to him, will follow through the whole courſe of his reign; whereas if he governs well, Parliaments will truſt him, as much as a wiſe Prince would deſire to be truſted; and will ſupply him in every war that is neceſſary, either for their own preſervation, or the preſervation of thoſe allies, with whom mutual intereſts and leagues unite him: But though, ſoon after the Reſtoration, a ſlaviſh Parliament ſupported King Charles in the Dutch war, yet the nation muſt be ſtrangely changed, before any thing of that ſort can happen again.

One of the moſt deteſtable and the fooliſheſt maxims, with relation to our government, is to keep up parties and a rivalry among them; to ſhift and change Miniſters, and to go from one party to another, as they can be brought in their turns to offer the Prince more money, or to give him more authority: this will in concluſion render him odious and contemptible to all parties, who growing accuſtomed to his fickleneſs, will never truſt him, but rather ſtudy

to

to ſecure themſelves, by depreſſing him; of which the reign of Henry the Third of France is a ſignal inſtance. We ſaw what effects this had on King Charles's reign; and King William felt what an ill ſtep he had made, near the end of his reign, in purſuing this maxim. Nothing creates to a Prince ſuch a confidence, as a conſtant and clear firmneſs and ſteadineſs of government, with an unblemiſhed integrity in all his profeſſions; and nothing will create a more univerſal dependence on him, than when it is viſible, he ſtudies to allay the heats of parties, and to reconcile them to one another: This will demonſtrate, that he loves his people, and that he has no ill deſigns of his own.

A Prince, who would be well ſerved, ought to ſeek out among his ſubjects the beſt and moſt capable of the youth, and ſee to their good education at home and abroad; he ſhould ſend them to travel, and order his Miniſters abroad to keep ſuch for ſome time about them, and to ſend them from court to court, to learn their language, and obſerve their tempers: If but twelve ſuch were conſtantly kept, on an allowance of 250 l. a-year, the whole expence of this would riſe but to 3000 l. a-year: By this inconſiderable charge, a Prince might have a conſtant nurſery for a wiſe and able Miniſtry. But thoſe ought to be well choſen, none ought to pretend to the nomination; it ought to riſe from the motion, of the honeſteſt and moſt diſintereſted of all his Miniſters, to the Prince in ſecret. As great a care ought to be had, in the nomination of the chaplains of his Miniſters abroad, that there may be a breed of worthy clergymen, who have large thoughts and great notions, from a more enlarged view of mankind and of the world. If a Prince would have all that ſerve him grateful and true to him, he muſt ſtudy to find out, who are the propereſt

and worthieſt men, capable of employments, and prevent their applications, and ſurprize them with beſtowing good poſts unſought, and raiſing them higher, as they ſerve well: When it is known, that a Prince has made it his maxim, to follow this method in diſtributing his favours, he will cut off applications for them; which will otherwiſe create a great uneaſineſs to him, and have this certain ill effect, that, where there are many pretenders, one muſt have the preference to all the reſt; ſo that many are mortified for being rejected, and are full of envy at him, who has obtained the favour, and therefore will detract from him as much as poſſible. This has no where worſe effects than among the clergy, in the diſpoſal of the dignities of the Church: And therefore Queen Mary reſolved to break thoſe aſpirings; which reſolution ſhe carried on effectually for ſome years: A conſtant purſuing that maxim would have a great effect on the nation.

Frequent progreſſes round the nation, ſo divided, that once in ſeven, eight, or ten years, the chief places of it might be gone through, would recommend a Prince wonderfully to the people; eſpecially if he were gentle and affable, and would ſo manage his progreſs, that it ſhould not be a charge to any, by refuſing to accept of entertainments, from any perſon whatſoever: For the accepting theſe only from ſuch, as could eaſily bear the charge of it, would be an affronting of others, who being of equal rank, though not of equal eſtates, would likewiſe deſire to treat the Prince. So to make a progreſs every where acceptable, and no where chargeable, the ſure method would be, according to the eſtabliſhed rule of the houſhold, for the Prince to carry the travelling wardrobe with him, and to take ſuch houſes in the way, as are moſt convenient for him; but to entertain himſelf and his Court there, and have a variety of tables for

for ſuch as may come to attend on him. On this Queen Mary had ſet her heart, if ſhe had lived to ſee peace in her days; by this means a Prince may ſee and be ſeen by his people; he may know ſome men, that deſerve to be diſtinguiſhed, of whom otherwiſe he would never have heard; and he may learn and redreſs the grievances of his people, preventing all parliamentary complaints, except for ſuch matters as cannot be cured, but by a remedy in Parliament: Methods like theſe would make a Prince become the idol of his people.

It is certain, that their affections muſt follow a Prince, who would conſider government and the royal dignity as his calling, and would be daily employed in it, ſtudying the good and happineſs of his people, purſuing the propereſt ways for promoting it, without either delivering himſelf up to the ſloth of luxury and vain magnificence, or affecting the barbarity of war and conqueſt; which render thoſe, who make the world a ſcene of blood and rapine, indeed the butchers of mankind. If theſe words ſeem not decent enough, I will make no other apology, but that I uſe them, becauſe I cannot find worſe: For as they are the worſt of men, ſo they deſerve the worſt of language. Can it be thought that Princes are raiſed to the higheſt pitch of glory and wealth, on deſign to corrupt their minds with pride and contempt of the reſt of mankind, as if they were made only to be the inſtruments of their extravagancies, or the ſubjects of their paſſions and humours? No! they are exalted for the good of their fellow-creatures, in order to raiſe them to the trueſt ſublimity, to become as like divinity, as a mortal creature is capable of being. None will grudge them their great treaſures and authority, when they ſee it is all employed to make their people happy. None will envy their greatneſs, when they ſee it accom-

panied with a ſuitable greatneſs of ſoul; whereas a magnified and flattered pageant will ſoon fall under univerſal contempt and hatred. There is not any one thing more certain and more evident, than that Princes are made for the people, and not the people for them; and perhaps there is no nation under heaven, that is more entirely poſſeſſed with this notion of Princes, than the Engliſh nation is in this age; ſo that they will ſoon be uneaſy to a Prince, who does not govern himſelf by this maxim, and in time grow very unkind to him.

Great care ought to be taken, in the nomination of Judges and Biſhops. I join theſe together; for law and religion, juſtice and piety, are the ſupport of nations, and give ſtrength and ſecurity to governments: Judges muſt be recommended by thoſe in the high poſts of the law; but a Prince may, by his own taſte and upon knowledge, chooſe his Biſhops. They ought to be men eminent for piety, learning, diſcretion and zeal; not broken with age, which will quickly render them incapable of ſerving the Church, to any good purpoſe: A perſon fit to be a Biſhop at ſixty, was fit at forty; and had then ſpirit and activity, with a ſtrength both of body and mind. The vaſt expence they are at, in entering on their Biſhopricks, ought to be regulated: No Biſhopricks can be, in any good degree, ſerved under 1000 l. a year at leaſt. The Judges ought to be plentifully provided for, that they may be under no temptation, to ſupply themſelves by indirect ways: One part of a Prince's care, to be recommended to Judges in their circuits, is to know what perſons are, as it were, hid in the nation, that are fit for employments, and deſerve to be encouraged; of ſuch, they ought to give an account to the Lord Chancellor, who ought to lay it before the Throne. No crime ought to be pardoned, till the Judge who gave ſentence is heard,

heard, to give an account of the evidence, with the circumſtances of the fact, as it appeared on the trial: No regard ought to be had to ſtories that are told, to move compaſſion; for in theſe, little regard is had to truth: And an eaſineſs in pardoning is, in ſome ſort, an encouraging of crimes, and a giving licence to commit them.

But to run out no longer into particulars, the great and comprehenſive rule of all is, that a King ſhould conſider himſelf, as exalted by Almighty God into that high dignity, as into a capacity of doing much good, and of being a great bleſſing to mankind, and in ſome ſort a God on earth; and therefore, as he expects, that his Miniſters ſhould ſtudy to advance his ſervice, his intereſts and his glory; and that, ſo much the more, as he raiſes them to higher poſts of favour and honour; ſo he, whom God has raiſed to the greateſt exaltation, this world is capable of, ſhould apply himſelf wholly to cares, becoming his rank and ſtation, to be in himſelf a pattern of virtue and true religion, to promote juſtice, to relieve and revenge the oppreſſed, and to ſeek out men of virtue and piety, and bring them into ſuch degrees of confidence, as they may be capable of; to encourage a due and a generous freedom in their advices, to be ready to ſee his own errors, that he may correct them, and to entertain every thing, that is ſuggeſted to him, for the good of his people, and for the benefit of mankind; and to make a difference between thoſe, who court his favour for their own ends, who ſtudy to flatter and by that to pleaſe him, often to his own ruin, and thoſe who have great views and noble aims, who ſet him on to purſue deſigns worthy of him, without mean or partial regards to any ends or intereſts of their own. It is not enough for a Prince,

not to encourage vice or impiety, by his own ill practices; it ought to appear, that these are odious to him, and that they give him horror: A declaration of this kind, solemnly made and steadily pursued, would soon bring on at least an exterior reformation, which would have a great effect on the body of the nation, and on the rising generation, though it were but hypocritically put on at first. Such a Prince would be perhaps too great a blessing to a wicked world: Queen Mary seemed to have the seeds of all this in her; but the world was not worthy of her: And so God took her from it.

An exhortation to all, to become truly religious.

I will conclude this whole address to posterity with that, which is the most important of all other things, and which alone will carry every thing else along with it; which is to recommend, in the most solemn and serious manner, the study and practice of religion to all sorts of men, as that which is both the light of the world, and the salt of the earth. Nothing does so open our faculties, and compose and direct the whole man, as an inward sense of God, of his authority over us, of the laws he has set us, of his eye ever upon us, of his hearing our prayers, assisting our endeavours, watching over our concerns, and of his being to judge and to reward or punish us in another state, according to what we do in this: Nothing will give a man such a detestation of sin, and such a sense of the goodness of God, and of our obligations to holiness, as a right understanding and a firm belief of the christian religion: Nothing can give a man so calm a peace within, and such a firm security against all fears and dangers without, as the belief of a kind and wise providence, and of a future state. An integrity of heart gives a man a courage, and a confidence that cannot be shaken: A man is sure that, by living according to the rules

rules of religion, he becomes the wiſeſt, the beſt and happieſt creature, that he is capable of being: Honeſt induſtry, the employing his time well, and a conſtant ſobriety, an undefiled purity and chaſtity, with a quiet ſerenity, are the beſt preſervers of life and health: So that, take a man as a ſingle individual, religion is his guard, his perfection, his beauty, and his glory: This will make him the light of the world, ſhining brightly, and enlightening many round about him.

Then take a man as a piece of mankind, as a citizen of the world, or of any particular ſtate, religion is indeed then the ſalt of the earth: For it makes every man to be to all the reſt of the world, whatſoever any one can with reaſon wiſh or deſire him to be. He is true, juſt, honeſt and faithful in the whole commerce of life, doing to all others, that which he would have others do to him: He is a lover of mankind, and of his country: He may and ought to love ſome more than others; but he has an extent of love to all, of pity and compaſſion, not only to the pooreſt, but to the worſt; for the worſe any are, they are the more to be pitied. He has a complacency and delight in all that are truly, though but defectively good, and a reſpect and veneration for all that are eminently ſo: He mourns for the ſins, and rejoices in the virtues of all that are round about him: In every relation of life, religion makes him anſwer all his obligations: It will make Princes juſt and good, faithful to their promiſes, and lovers of their people: It will inſpire ſubjects with reſpect, ſubmiſſion, obedience and zeal for their Prince: It will ſanctify wedlock to be a ſtate of chriſtian friendſhip, and mutual aſſiſtance: It will give parents the trueſt love to their children, with a proper care of their education: It will command the returns of gratitude

titude and obedience from children: It will teach maſters to be gentle and careful of their ſervants, and ſervants to be faithful, zealous, and diligent in their maſter's concerns: It will make friends tender and true to one another; it will make them generous, faithful and diſintereſted: It will make men live in their neighbourhood, as members of one common body, promoting firſt the general good of the whole, and then the good of every particular, as far as a man's ſphere can go: It will make judges and magiſtrates juſt and patient, hating covetouſneſs, and maintaining peace and order, without reſpect of perſons: It will make people live in ſo inoffenſive a manner, that it will be eaſy to maintain juſtice, whilſt men are not diſpoſed to give diſturbance to thoſe about them. This will make Biſhops and Paſtors faithful to their truſt, tender to their people, and watchful over them; and it will beget in the people an eſteem for their perſons, and their functions.

Thus religion, if truly received and ſincerely adhered to, would prove the greateſt of all bleſſings to a nation: But by religion, I underſtand ſomewhat more than the receiving ſome doctrines, though ever ſo true, or the profeſſing them, and engaging to ſupport them, not without zeal and eagerneſs. What ſignify the beſt doctrines, if men do not live ſuitably to them; if they have not a due influence upon their thoughts, their principles, and their lives? Men of bad lives, with ſound opinions, are ſelf condemned, and lie under a highly aggravated guilt; nor will the heat of a party, ariſing out of intereſt, and managed with fury and violence, compenſate for the ill lives of ſuch falſe pretenders to zeal; while they are a diſgrace to that, which they profeſs and ſeem ſo hot for. By religion I do not mean, an outward compliance with form and cuſtoms, in going to church, to prayers,

prayers, to ſermons and to ſacraments, with an external ſhew of devotion, or, which is more, with ſome inward forced good thoughts, in which many may ſatisfy themſelves, while this has no viſible effect on their lives, nor any inward force to ſubdue and rectify their appetites, paſſions and ſecret deſigns. Thoſe cuſtomary performances, how good and uſeful ſoever, when well underſtood and rightly directed, are of little value, when men reſt on them, and think that, becauſe they do them, they have therefore acquitted themſelves of their duty, though they continue ſtill proud, covetous, full of deceit, envy and malice: Even ſecret prayer, the moſt effectual of all other means, is deſigned for a higher end, which is to poſſeſs our minds with ſuch a conſtant and preſent ſenſe of divine truths, as may make theſe live in us, and govern us; and may draw down ſuch aſſiſtances, as may exalt and ſanctify our natures.

So that by religion I mean, ſuch a ſenſe of divine truth, as enters into a man, and becomes a ſpring of a new nature within him; reforming his thoughts and deſigns, purifying his heart, and ſanctifying him, and governing his whole deportment, his words as well as his actions; convincing him that it is not enough, not to be ſcandalouſly vicious, or to be innocent in his converſation, but that he muſt be entirely, uniformly and conſtantly pure and virtuous, animating him with a zeal, to be ſtill better and better, more eminently good and exemplary, uſing prayers and all outward devotions, as ſolemn acts teſtifying what he is inwardly and at heart, and as methods inſtituted by God, to be ſtill advancing in the uſe of them further and further into a more refined and ſpiritual ſenſe of divine matters. This is true religion, which is the perfection of human nature, and the joy and delight of every one, that feels it active and ſtrong within him; it is true,

true, this is not arrived at all at once; and it will have an unhappy allay, hanging long even about a good man: But, as thoſe ill mixtures are the perpetual grief of his ſoul, ſo it is his chief care to watch over and to mortify them; he will be in a continual progreſs, ſtill gaining ground upon himſelf: And, as he attains to a good degree of purity, he will find a noble flame of life and joy growing upon him. Of this I write with the more concern and emotion, becauſe I have felt this the true and indeed the only joy, which runs through a man's heart and life: It is that which has been for many years my greateſt ſupport; I rejoice daily in it; I feel from it the earneſt of that ſupreme joy, which I pant and long for; I am ſure there is nothing elſe can afford any true or compleat happineſs. I have, conſidering my ſphere, ſeen a great deal of all, that is moſt ſhining and tempting in this world: The pleaſures of ſenſe I did ſoon nauſeate; intrigues of ſtate, and the conduct of affairs have ſomething in them, that is more ſpecious; and I was, for ſome years, deeply immerſed in theſe, but ſtill with hopes of reforming the world, and of making mankind wiſer and better: But I have found, that which is crooked cannot be made ſtraight. I acquainted my ſelf with knowledge and learning, and that in a great variety, and with more compaſs than depth: But though wiſdom excelleth folly, as much as light does darkneſs; yet, as it is a ſore travail, ſo it is ſo very defective, that what is wanting to compleat it, cannot be numbred. I have ſeen that two were better than one, and that a threefold cord is not eaſily looſed; and have therefore cultivated friendſhip with much zeal and a diſintereſted tenderneſs; but I have found this was alſo vanity and vexation of ſpirit, though it be of the beſt and nobleſt ſort. So that, upon great and long experience, I could enlarge on

the preacher's text, vanity of vanities, and all is vanity; but I muſt alſo conclude with him; fear God, and keep his commandments, for this is the all of man, the whole both of his duty, and of his happineſs. I do therefore end all, in the words of David, of the truth of which, upon great experience and a long obſervation, I am ſo fully aſſured, that I leave theſe as my laſt words to poſterity: "Come ye children, hearken unto "me; I will teach you the fear of the Lord; "what man is he that deſireth life, and loveth "many days, that he may ſee good? keep thy "tongue from evil, and thy lips from ſpeaking "guile; depart from evil, and do good, ſeek "peace and purſue it. The eyes of the Lord "are upon the righteous, and his ears are open "to their cry; but the face of the Lord is "againſt them that do evil, to cut off the re-"membrance of them, from the earth. The "righteous cry, and the Lord heareth and de-"livereth them out of all their troubles. The "Lord is nigh unto them, that are of a broken "heart, and ſaveth ſuch as be of a contrite "ſpirit."

N. B. This was written in June 1708, when the author thought himſelf near the end of the hiſtory.

A CHRO-

A CHRONOLOGICAL AND DISTINCT ACCOUNT OF THE WORKS

Of the right reverend and learned

Dr. GILBERT BURNET,

Late Lord Bishop of SALISBURY, &c.

A chronological and particular ACCOUNT of the WORKS of the right reverend and learned Dr. GILBERT BURNET, late Lord Biſhop of Saliſbury, connected and diſpoſed under proper heads, interſperſed with ſome critical and hiſtorical obſervations. By R. F.

N. B. Thoſe which have this mark * prefixed, are not included in the collection annexed to the hiſtory of his life.

I. SERMONS.

* 1. SUBJECTION for conſcience ſake aſſerted; at Covent-Garden, 6 Decem. 1674, on Rom. xiii. 5. 1675. 4to.

* 2. The royal Martyr lamented; at the Savoy, 30 Jan. $167\frac{4}{5}$.
2 Sam. i. 12. 1675. 4to.
Theſe two ſermons were reprinted, 1710. 8vo.

3. Before the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, at St. Mary le Bow, 2 Sept. 1680, the faſt-day for the fire of LONDON. Amos iv. 11, 12. 1680. 4to.

4. Before the houſe of COMMONS, at St. Margaret's, Weſtminſter, 22 December, 1680, the faſt-day.
Rev. iii. 2, 3. 1681. 4to.

5. Before the court of Aldermen, at St. Lawrence-Jewry, 30 Jan. $168\frac{9}{1}$.
Zech. viii. 19. 1681. 4to.

6. An exhortation to peace and union; before the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, &c. at St. Lawrence-Jewry, 29 Sept. 1681, the day of electing the Lord Mayor.
Matth. xii. 25. 1681. 4to.

7. At the funeral of Mr. JAMES HOUBLON, at St. Mary Woolnoth. 28 June, 1682.
Pſalm xxxvii. 37. 1682. 4to.

8. (*a*) At the chapel of the Rolls, 5 Nov. 1684.
Pſalm xxii. 21. 1684. 4to.

9. Before the Prince of ORANGE, at St. James's, 23 Dec. 1688. Pſalm cxviii. 23. 1689. 4to.

10. Before the houſe of COMMONS, 31 Jan. $168\frac{8}{9}$, the day of thankſgiving for the deliverance of this kingdom from popery and arbitrary power, by his highneſs the Prince of ORANGE's means.
Pſalm cxliv. 15. 1689. 4to.

11. At the coronation of King WILLIAM and Queen MARY, at Weſtminſter-Abbey, 11 April, 1689.
2 Sam. xxiii. 3, 4. 1689. 4to.

12. Before the houſe of PEERS, at Weſtminſter-Abbey, 5 Nov. 1689.
Micah vi. 5. 1689. 4to.

13. An exhortation to peace and unity, at St. Lawrence-Jewry, 26 Nov. 1689.
Acts vii. 16. 1689. 4to.

14. Before the KING and QUEEN, at White-Hall, on Chriſtmas-day, 1689.
1 Tim. iii. 16. 1689. 4to.

15. Before the court of Aldermen, at St. Mary le Bow, on the faſt-day, 12 March, $16\frac{8}{9}\frac{9}{0}$.
Luke xix. 41, 42. 1690. 4to.

(*a*) The author hath acquainted his readers in the preface, that, on account of this ſermon, he had been unjuſtly cenſured as a perſon diſaffected to his Majeſty's government; and it ſoon appeared, that the Court was very highly offended at him; for by an order from the Right Honourable FRANCIS NORTH, Lord GUILFORD, Lord keeper of the great ſeal, directed to Sir HARBOTTLE GRIMSTON, Knt. maſter of the Rolls, in the next month, he was forbid preaching any more at the Rolls chapel. Soon after he left the kingdom, from juſt apprehenſions of danger from his enemies, that he might enjoy a place of ſafe retreat in foreign countries, where he continued till the happy revolution 1688. See the Life of the author, p. 33. General Dictionary, Vol. iii. p. 706. Biographia Britannica, Vol. II. p. 1038.

16. Before

16. Before the Queen, at White-Hall, on the faſt-day, 16 July, 1690.
Pſalm lxxxv. 8. 1690. 4to.

17. Before the King and Queen, at White-Hall, on the day of thankſgiving, 19 Oct. 1690.
Pſalm cxliv. 10, 11. 1690. 4to.

18. At the funeral of the Right Honourable Anne Lady dowager Brook, at Breamor, 19 Feb. 169$\frac{0}{1}$.
Prov. xxxi. 30, 31. 1691. 4to.

19. Before the King and Queen, at White-Hall, on the faſt-day, 29 April, 1691.
Pſalm xii. 1. 1691. 4to.

20. Before the King and Queen, at White-Hall, on the day of thankſgiving, 26 Nov. 1691.
Prov. xx. 28. 1691. 4to.

21. At the funeral of the Honourable Robert Boyle, Eſq; at St. Martin's in the fields, 7 Jan. 169$\frac{1}{2}$.
Eccleſ. ii. 26. 1692. 4to.

22. Before the Queen, at White-Hall, the third Sunday in Lent, 11 March, 169$\frac{3}{4}$.
1 Cor. i. 26. 1694. 4to.

23. Before the Queen, at White-Hall, 29 May, 1694.
Pſalm cv. 5. 1694. 4to.

24. At the funeral of the moſt Reverend Dr. John Tillotson, late Archbiſhop of Canterbury, at St. Lawrence-Jewry, 30 Nov. 1694.
2 Tim. iv. 7. 1694. 4to.

25. Before the King, at St. James's, the firſt Sunday in Lent, 10 Feb. 169$\frac{4}{5}$.
2 Cor. vi. 1. 1695. 4to.

26. Before the King, at White-Hall, on Chriſtmas-day, 1696. Gal. iv. 4. 1696. 4to.

27. Before the King, at White-Hall, the third Sunday in Lent, 7 March, 169$\frac{6}{7}$.
Epheſ. v. 1. 1697. 4to.

28. Before the KING, at White-Hall, 2 December, 1697, the day of thankſgiving for the PEACE.
2 Chron. ix. 8. 1697. 4to.

29. Of charity to the houſhold of faith; before the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, &c. at St. Bride's, on Eaſter-Monday, 25 April, 1698.
Gal. vi. 10. 1698. 4to.

30. Charitable reproof; before the ſocieties for reformation of manners, at St. Mary le Bow, 25 March, 1700.
Prov. xxvii. 5, 6. 1700. 4to.

31. At St. James's church, upon reading the brief for the perſecuted exiles of the principality of ORANGE, Jan. $170\frac{3}{4}$. 1 Cor. xii. 26, 27. 1704. 4to.

32. (*b*) Before the ſociety for the propagation of the goſpel in foreign parts, at St. Mary le Bow, 18 Feb. $170\frac{3}{4}$.
Malachi i. 11. 1704. 4to.

* 33. At Saliſbury, at the triennial viſitation, Oct. 1704. Phil. ii. 1, 2. 1704. 4to.

* 34. At St. James's, 10 March, $170\frac{5}{6}$, the fifth Sunday in Lent. Pſalm xlix. 20. 1706. 4to.

* 35. Before the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, &c. at St. Sepulchre's, on Eaſter-Monday, 25 March, 1706.
Matth. xxiv. 12. 4to.

* 36. On the day of thankſgiving, 27 June, 1706.
Deut. iv. 6, 7, 8. 8vo.

* 37. Before the QUEEN, and the two houſes of Parliament, at St. Paul's, 31 Dec. 1706, the day of thankſgiving for the wonderful ſucceſſes of that year.
Pſalm lxxii. 4. 1706. 8vo.

* 38. At Saliſbury, 29 May, 1710.
Matth. xxii. 21. 1710. 8vo.

(*b*) The ſermons from Numb. 3, to Numb. 32 inclusive, are in the collection of tracts and diſcourſes, written and publiſhed in the years 1677—1704, in three volumes, quarto, collected in 1704.

* 39 & * 40. At Salisbury, 5 Nov. 1710, and 7 Nov. 1710, the day of thanksgiving. Psalm cxliv. 15. } 1710. 8vo.

* 41. Before the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, &c. at St. Bride's, on Easter-Monday, 2 April, 1711.
Psalm cxxii. 6, 7, 8, 9. 1711. 4to.

* 42. Before the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, &c. at St. Bride's, on Easter-Monday, 29 March, 1714.
Daniel iv. 27. 1714. 8vo.

* 43. At Salisbury, at the triennial visitation, 1714.
Acts xx. 28. 4to.

* 44. Before the KING at St. James's, 31 Oct. 1714.
Psalm ii. 10, 11. 8vo.

45. Before the KING and QUEEN, at Hampton-Court, on the first fast-day, 5 June, 1689 (*c*).
2 Chron. xv. 2.

46. (*d*) Prepared by QUEEN MARY's order for the day of thanksgiving, 27 Oct. 1692, for the victory at sea, near la Hogue. Exod. iv. 13.

47. Before QUEEN ANNE upon her accession to the throne, at St. James's, 15 March, 170½, the fourth Sunday in Lent. Isaiah xlix. 23.

48. (*e*) Against Popery, at St. Clements, near the end of KING CHARLES IId's reign.
Ephes. i. 3.

(*c*) In the year 1713, the Bishop published, in 8vo, a volume, intitled "some sermons preached on several occasions, and an essay towards a new book of Homilies, in seven sermons, prepared at the desire of archbishop TILLOTSON, and some other bishops." See Numb. 45—58. The preface to these sermons containeth a laboured and most judicious defence of the revolution; in which the lawfulness and necessity of that important transaction are fully justified against the reproaches and misrepresentations of the non-jurors, and others, who are disaffected to the present happy constitution.

(*d*) The reasons why this sermon was not preached at the time for which it was prepared, the reader may find distinctly represented in the life of archbishop TILLOTSON, by the reverend Dr. BIRCH, p. 305.

(*e*) Soon after this sermon was preached, the resentment of the court against our author was so great, that he was discharged from his lecture at St Clement's by virtue of the King's mandate to the reverend Dr. GREGORY HASCARD, rector of that parish. See the Life of the author, p. 33. Biographia Britannica, Vol ii. p 1038.

49 & 50. Before the Lord William Russel, in Newgate, 20 July, 1683, the day before he suffered. Rev. xiv. 13. Pſalm xxiii. 4.

51. Upon death, in the cathedral church at Saliſbury, on occaſion of the death of the reverend Mr. Edward Young, dean of Saliſbury, who died 7 Aug. 1705. Eccleſ. xii. 7.

52. Upon the love of God. Matth. xxii. 35, 36, 37, 38.

53. Upon the love of our neighbour. Matth. xxii. 39, 40.

54. Againſt perjury. Levit. xix. 12.

55. Of the nature of oaths, and againſt profane ſwearing. James v. 12.

56. Upon keeping holy the Sabbath-day. Exod. xx. 8, 9, 10, 11.

57. Againſt adultery and uncleanneſs. Hebr. xiii. 4.

58. Againſt drunkenneſs. Epheſ. v. 18.

II. Discourses and Tracts in Divinity.

* 1. On the importance of ſubſtantial piety and vital religion; a preface to a book intitled "The life of God in the ſoul of man; or the nature and excellency of the chriſtian religion; by Henry Scougal, M. A. ſometime profeſſor of divinity in the univerſity of Aberdeen. 1688. 8vo.

2. Inſtructions for the archdeacons of the dioceſe of Saliſbury, to be delivered by them to the clergy in their Eaſter viſitations; together with a letter from their dioceſan, dated 22 April, 1690. 1690. 4to.

* 3. A ſhort directory, containing proper rules how to prepare young perſons for confirmation. 1690. 4to.

4. (*f*) A diſcourſe concerning the paſtoral care, 1692. 4to. and 8vo.

5. Four diſcourſes delivered to the clergy of the dioceſe of Saliſbury, concerning, I. The truth of the chriſtian religion. II. The divinity and death of Chriſt. III. The infallibility and authority of the church. IV. The obligations to continue in the communion of the church; with a large prefatory epiſtle to the clergy of the ſaid dioceſe (*g*).

*6. (*h*) A letter to the reverend Dr. JOHN WILLIAMS, in defence of the "diſcourſe concerning the divinity and death of Chriſt." 1695. 4to.

*7. (*i*) Animadverſions upon a late book, written by Mr. HILL, falſely called "a vindication of the primitive fathers againſt the imputations of GILBERT Lord Biſhop of Sarum. 1695. 4to.

8. (*k*) Reflections upon a pamphlet intitled "ſome diſcourſes upon Dr. BURNET and Dr. TILLOTSON, occaſioned by the late funeral ſermon of the former upon the latter. 1696. 8vo.

(*f*) A third edition of this ſerious and excellent diſcourſe was printed in Nov. 1712, in 8vo.; to which were added a new preface, repreſenting the true ſtate of the church and clergy of ENGLAND at that juncture, when the nation was inflamed and divided by the artful intrigues and clamours of the highchurch incendiaries; and a tenth chapter concerning preſentations to benefices, and ſimony.

(*g*) This prefatory addreſs, dated 8 Dec. 1693, exhibiteth a diſtinct account of the deſign of each diſcourſe, and abundantly confuteth the objections which had been alleged againſt the revolution.

(*h*) This letter is dated 2 Feb. 1694-5, and deſigned as a reply to the objections of an unitarian writer contained in "ſome conſiderations on the explications of the doctrine of the trinity," publiſhed 1694, in 4to, and is annexed to Dr. WILLIAMS's vindication of archbiſhop TILLOTSON and biſhop STILLINGFLEET, againſt the remarks of the ſaid writer.

(*i*) "The vindication of the primitive fathers," &c. written by the reverend Mr. SAMUEL HILL, archdeacon of Wells and rector of Kilmington in the county of Somerſet, was principally deſigned againſt ſome explications of the fathers relating to the doctrine of the trinity, which the biſhop had remarked upon in his ſecond "diſcourſe on the divinity and death of Chriſt."

(*k*) Theſe diſcourſes are ſaid to be written by Dr. GEORGE HICKES, a virulent adverſary to the archbiſhop and our biſhop, whoſe "reflections," as Dr. BIRCH obſerveth, contain a ſtrong and clear anſwer to them. Life of archbiſhop TILLOTSON, p. 345.

9. (*l*) An expoſition of the thirty nine articles of the church of ENGLAND. 1699. folio.
The fifth edition of this work was publiſhed 1746, in a large 8vo.

10. Remarks on the examination of the ſecond article of our church. 1702. 4to.

* 11. A charge given at the triennial viſitation of the dioceſe of Saliſbury, in Oct. 1704, prefixed to a ſermon preached at the ſame viſitation. See SERMONS, Numb. 33. 1704. 4to.

12. An expoſition of the church catechiſm, for the uſe of the dioceſe of Saliſbury. 1710. 8vo.

* 13. A charge given at the triennial viſitation of the dioceſe of Saliſbury, 1714; publiſhed together with a ſermon preached at the ſame viſitation. See SERMONS, Numb. 43. 1714. 4to.

III. TRACTS againſt POPERY.

1. The myſtery of iniquity unvailed; in a diſcourſe, wherein is held forth the oppoſition of the doctrine, worſhip and practices of the roman church to the nature, deſigns and characters of the chriſtian faith (*m*).
1673. 12mo.

(*l*) This learned, judicious and inſtructive performance, the reſult of great abilities and indefatigable induſtry, was drawn up in the year 1694, and ſent to archbiſhop TILLOTSON, who reviſed and altered it in ſeveral places, and expreſſed his aſtoniſhment to ſee ſo vaſt a work begun and finiſhed in leſs than a year; and declared the great pleaſure and ſatisfaction with which he read it over. See Dr. BIRCH's life of archbiſhop TILLOTSON, p. 342.
This work was afterwards peruſed and approved by archbiſhops TENISON and SHARP, biſhops STILLINGFLEET, PATRICK, LLOYD, HALL and WILLIAMS: the laſt of theſe ſtrongly recommended the conſidering them only as articles of peace, in which men were bound to acquieſce without contradiction; not as articles of faith, which they were obliged to believe. Life of Biſhop BURNET, p. 74.
The reverend Dr. JONATHAN EDWARDS, principal of Jeſus-College in Oxford, having publiſhed "an examination of the expoſition of the ſecond article," 1707, 4to. the biſhop ſoon replied to the exceptions of that writer in a ſmall tract, intitled "Remarks," &c.
(*m*) A ſecond edition of this tract appeared in 1688, in 4to, in which the firſt part of the title, viz. "The myſtery of iniquity unvailed," was omitted,

* 2. ROME's

* 2. ROME's glory, or a collection of divers miracles wrought by popiſh ſaints collected out of their own authors, with a prefatory diſcourſe, declaring the impoſſibility and folly of ſuch vain impoſtures. 1673. 8vo.

3. An account given by J. KEN, a jeſuit, of the truth of religion examined. 1674. 8vo.

* 4. A rational method for proving the truth of the chriſtian religion, as it is profeſſed in the church of ENGLAND, in anſwer to "a rational compendious way to convince without diſpute all perſons whatſoever diſſenting from the true religion, by J. KEN." 1675. 8vo.

5. A relation of a conference held about religion at LONDON, 3 April, 1676, by EDWARD STILLINGFLEET, D. D. and GILBERT BURNET, with ſome gentlemen of the church of ROME, [Mr. EDWARD COLEMAN, a jeſuit, ſecretary to the ducheſs of YORK, and others.] At the end of the "relation of the conference," are added two diſcourſes: I. To ſhew how unreaſonable it is to aſk for expreſs words of ſcripture, in proving all articles of faith. II. To ſhew by what means the doctrines of the real preſence and tranſubſtantiation were introduced into the church. 1676. 8vo.

This piece was reprinted in 1687. 4to.

6. A vindication of the ordinations of the church of ENGLAND; in which it is demonſtrated, that all the eſſentials of ordination according to the practice of the primitive and greek churches are ſtill retained in our church; in anſwer to a paper written by one of the church of ROME, to prove the nullity of our orders; and given to a perſon of quality. [Sir PHILIP TERWHIT's lady, at whoſe houſe the conference about religion was held, 3 April, 1676.] 1677. 8vo.

The ſecond edition of the "vindication of the ordinations," &c. was publiſhed, 1688. 4to.

7. A letter written upon the diſcovery of the late plot. 1678. 4to.

8. The unreaſonableneſs and impiety of POPERY, in a ſecond letter written upon the diſcovery of the late plot. 1678. 4to.

9. A

9. A decree made at ROME, 2 March, 1679, condemning ſome opinions of the Jeſuits and other caſuiſts. 1679. 4to.

* 10. The infallibility of the romiſh church examined and confuted. 1680. 4to.

* 11. The policy of ROME, as delivered by cardinal PALAVICINI in his hiſtory of the council of TRENT, with a preface by G. BURNET, D. D. 1681. 8vo.

12. The letter writ by the laſt aſſembly general of the clergy of FRANCE to the proteſtants, inviting them to return to their communion, together with the methods propoſed by them for their conviction, tranſlated and examined. 1683. 8vo.

13. A letter containing remarks on the two (*n*) papers, writ by his late majeſty King CHARLES the ſecond, concerning religion. This letter was written 1685, but not publiſhed till 1688. 4to.

14. An enquiry into the reaſons for abrogating the TEST impoſed on all members of parliament, offered by Dr. SAMUEL PARKER, biſhop of Oxford. 1688. 4to.

15. A ſecond part of the enquiry into the reaſons offered by Dr. SAMUEL PARKER, biſhop of Oxford, for abrogating the TEST: or an anſwer to his plea for tranſubſtantiation, and for acquitting the church of ROME of idolatry. 1688. 4to.

16. A continuation of the ſecond part of the enquiry into the reaſons offered by Dr. SAMUEL PARKER, biſhop of Oxford, for abrogating the TEST: relating to the idolatry of the church of ROME. 1688. 4to.

The two laſt mentioned pieces, viz. Numb. 15 and 16, were ſome few months after publiſhed in one tract, with this title, "A diſcourſe concerning tranſubſtan-

(*n*) Theſe papers were publiſhed by King JAMES II. ſoon after the death of his royal brother. He declared that he found them in the cloſet of the deceaſed KING, and written with his own hand; they relate to the "unity and authority of the catholic church, and the reformation of the church of ENGLAND."

tiation

tiation and idolatry, being an anſwer to the biſhop of Oxford's plea relating to thoſe two points."
1688. 4to.

17 and 18. (*o*) Reflections on "the relation of the engliſh reformation, and the THESES relating to it," lately printed at Oxford, by OBADIAH WALKER, maſter of Univerſity-College, in two parts. Amſterdam 1688. London 1689. 4to.

IV. TRACTS polemical, political and miſcellaneous.

1. A modeſt and free conference between a conformiſt and nonconformiſt, in ſeven dialogues. Glaſgow 1669. 12mo.

2. A vindication of the authority, conſtitution, and laws of the church and ſtate of SCOTLAND: in four conferences, wherein the anſwer to the dialogues betwixt the conformiſt and the nonconformiſt is examined. Glaſgow 1673. 12mo.
A new edition of this piece was publiſhed 1724. 8vo.

3. Obſervations on the firſt and ſecond of the CANONS commonly aſcribed to the holy apoſtles; wherein an account of the primitive conſtitution and government of churches is contained. Drawn from ancient and acknowledged writings. Glaſgow 1673. 12mo.

* 4. (*p*) A reſolution of two important caſes of conſcience: Queſtion the firſt. Is a woman's barrenneſs a juſt ground for divorce, or for polygamy? Queſtion the

(*o*) In theſe reflections, &c. not only the general grounds of the reformation of the church of ENGLAND are conſidered, but the matters of fact relating to that important affair are briefly and judiciouſly ſet forth and illuſtrated.

(*p*) Theſe papers are publiſhed in the appendix to the memoirs, &c. of JOHN MACKY, Eſq; p. 25, &c. The occaſion of his writing theſe pieces, about the year 1671, at the requeſt of JOHN MAITLAND, Earl of LAUDERDALE, the king's high commiſſioner to the parliament of SCOTLAND, afterwards created Duke of LAUDERDALE and Earl of GUILFORD, our author himſelf hath informed us in his "reflections on Dr. HICKES's diſcourſes," &c. p. 76, &c. He adds, that in a letter to the Earl, he retracted the whole paper, and anſwered all the material things in it.

ſecond.

ſecond. Is polygamy in any caſe lawful under the goſpel? both which caſes the author reſolved in the affirmative.

* 5. A modeſt ſurvey of a diſcourſe, intitled "The naked truth, or the true ſtate of the primitive church, by an humble moderator," [Dr. HEREERT CROFTS, biſhop of Hereford.] 1676. 4to.

6. A tranſlation of Sir THOMAS MORE's Utopia, with a preface concerning tranſlations. 1683. 8vo.

7. Reaſons againſt the repealing the acts of parliament concerning the TEST: humbly offered to the conſideration of the members of both houſes, at their next meeting, on the twenty eighth of April, 1687. 1687. 4to.

8. Some reflections on his majeſty's proclamation of the twelfth of Feb. $168\frac{6}{7}$, for a toleration in SCOTLAND: together with the ſaid proclamation. 1687. 4to.

9. A letter containing ſome reflections on his majeſty's declaration for liberty of conſcience, dated April 4, 1687. 4to.

10. An anſwer to Mr. HENRY PAYNE's letter concerning his majeſty's declaration of indulgence, writ to the author of a letter to a diſſenter. 1687. 4to.

11. An anſwer to a paper printed with allowance, intitled a new teſt of the church of ENGLAND's loyalty. 1687. 4to.

12. The Earl of MELFORT's letter to the preſbyterian miniſters in SCOTLAND, writ in his majeſty's name upon their addreſs: together with ſome remarks upon it. 1687. 4to.

13. Reflections on a pamphlet, intitled, "Parliamentum pacificum," [written by JOHN NORTHLEIGH, M. D.] licenſed by the Earl of SUNDERLAND, and printed in LONDON, in March 1688. 4to.

14. An apology for the church of ENGLAND, with relation to the ſpirit of perſecution for which ſhe is accuſed. 1688. 4to.

15. Some

15. Some extracts out of Mr. JAMES STEWART's letters, from 12 July to 19 Nov. 1687, which were communicated to Mynheer FAGEL, the ſtates penſioner of the province of HOLLAND: together with ſome references to Mr. STEWART's printed letter. 1688. 4to.

16. An edict in the roman law, [de inſpiciendo ventre, cuſtodiendoque partu] concerning the viſiting a woman with child, and the looking after what may be born of her; with obſervations from ARISTOPHANES, and CICERO, relating to the like caſes. 1688. 4to.

17. An enquiry into the meaſures of ſubmiſſion to the ſupreme authority, and of the grounds upon which it may be lawful or neceſſary for ſubjects to defend their religion, lives and liberties. 1688. 4to.

18. A review of the reflections on the Prince of ORANGE's declaration; printed at Exeter in Nov. 1688. 4to.

19. The citation of GILBERT BURNET, D. D. to anſwer in SCOTLAND on 27 June, old ſtyle, 1687, for high treaſon; together with his anſwer, and three letters writ by him upon that ſubject to the Right Hon. the Earl of MIDDLETOUN, his majeſty's ſecretary of ſtate. 1688. 4to.

20. Dr. BURNET's vindication of himſelf from the calumnies with which he is aſperſed in a pamphlet, intitled, "Parliamentum pacificum," [written by JOHN NORTHLEIGH, M. D.] licenſed by the Earl of SUNDERLAND, and printed in LONDON, March 1688. 4to.

21. An enquiry into the preſent ſtate of affairs: and in particular, Whether we owe allegiance to the KING in theſe circumſtances? And, Whether we are bound to treat with him, and call him back again, or not? Publiſhed by authority. 1688. 4to.

22. Reflections on a paper, intitled, "his majeſty's reaſons for withdrawing himſelf from ROCHESTER. Publiſhed by authority. 1688. 4to.

23. A

23. (*q*) A paſtoral letter writ by GILBERT Lord biſhop of Sarum to the clergy of his dioceſe, concerning the oaths of allegiance and ſupremacy to King WILLIAM and Queen MARY; dated 15 May, 1688. 4to.

24. A ſpeech in the houſe of LORDS, December 1703, upon the bill, intitled, "an act for preventing occaſional conformity." 1703. 4to.

*25. A ſpeech in the houſe of LORDS, 16 March, $17\frac{0}{10}$, upon the firſt article of the impeachment of Dr. HENRY SACHEVERELL. 1710. 8vo.

*26. Four letters between GILBERT Lord biſhop of Saliſbury and Mr. HENRY DODWELL, on occaſion of Mr. DODWELL's reſolution to leave the nonjurors and return to the communion of the church of England. 1713. 8vo.

V. HISTORY, and hiſtorical TRACTS.

1. Memoirs of JAMES and WILLIAM Dukes of HAMILTON. 1676. folio.

2. (*r*) The hiſtory of the reformation of the church of ENGLAND; in three volumes, folio. The firſt volume was publiſhed 1679; the ſecond in 1681; and the third in 1714.

3. An

(*q*) This paſtoral letter, having, in page 19, 20, 21, touched upon the right of conqueſt, gave ſuch offence to ſome perſons in both houſes of parliament, that it was ordered to be burned by the hands of the common executioner, in 1693. See Biſhop KENNET's complete hiſtory of ENGLAND, Vol. iii. p. 587.

(*r*) Upon the publication of the firſt volume of this moſt excellent work, the author obtained a diſtinguiſhing mark of honour, never before or ſince paid to any writer: he had the thanks of both houſes of Parliament, with a deſire that he would proſecute the undertaking, and complete that valuable work. Accordingly, in leſs than two years after, he printed the ſecond volume, which met with the ſame general approbation as the firſt; and ſuch was his readineſs in compoſing, that he wrote the hiſtorical part in the compaſs of ſix weeks, after all his materials were laid in order. See the Life of the author, p. 22.

The

3. (s) An abridgment of the hiſtory of the reformation. 1682.

In ſupport of the facts contained in the hiſtory of the reformation, the author publiſhed,

* 4. Reflections on Mr. VARILLAS's hiſtory of the revolutions that have happened in EUROPE in matters of religion, and more particularly in his ninth book that relates to ENGLAND. Amſterdam 1686. 12mo.

* 5. A defence of the reflections on the ninth book of the firſt volume of Mr. VARILLAS's hiſtory of HERESIES; being a reply to his anſwer. Amſterdam 1687. 12mo.

The character given of this uſeful hiſtory by ſome celebrated writers deſerveth a place in this account of his works. Dr. WILLIAM NICHOLSON, biſhop of CARLISLE, afterwards archbiſhop of CASHEL, in IRELAND, in his engliſh hiſtorical library, p. 119, obſerveth, that the author "hath given a punctual account of all the affairs of the reformation, from its beginning, in the reign of HENRY VIII. to its final eſtabliſhment under Queen ELIZABETH, 1559. That the whole is penned in a maſculine ſtile, ſuch as becomes an hiſtorian, and is the property of this author in all his writings. The collection of RECORDS, which he gives at the end of each volume, are good vouchers of the truth of what he delivers in the body of the hiſtory, and are much more perfect, than could reaſonably be expected, after the pains taken, in Queen MARY's days, to ſuppreſs every thing, that carried marks of reformation upon it."

Another writer ſays, that theſe volumes "are pieces as profitable, as inimitable; and for their ſincerity, impartiality, and the authentic proof of their authority, are juſtly valued by all the learned men of the reformed nations of EUROPE, as likewiſe they are envied (not contemned) by the men of letters, who are enemies to the reformation. In theſe books his name will ſhine while names of men remain; and as long as learning is in the world, or the world ſtands for men to learn, this champion of the reformation will be read as the moſt authentic writer, to inform poſterity of the manner, method and nature of that great tranſaction in theſe kingdoms, which overthrew the romiſh Hierarchy, depoſed the tyranny of POPERY in GOD's church, introducing gradually the truth and purity of doctrine and worſhip, which is now enjoyed by us all." See Dr. CHARLES OWEN's funeral ſermon preached upon the occaſion of the death of the late biſhop of SARUM, p. 28, 29.

(s) In this work, the author tells us, he had wholly waved every thing that belonged to the RECORDS, and the proof of what he relates, or to the confutation of the falſehoods that run through the popiſh hiſtorians; all which may be found in the hiſtory at large.

To the edition, in two volumes 12mo, publiſhed 1719, there was added another volume of that ſize, containing an abridgment of the third volume, folio, by GILBERT BURNET, M. A. the biſhop's ſecond ſon; a clergyman of great worth, and diſtinguiſhed eminence for his uncommon ſagacity and ſolid judgment; whoſe anſwer to Mr. WILLIAM LAW's ſecond letter to the biſhop of BANGOR, is allowed to be among the beſt pieces in that controverſy. See Mr. HEARNE's account of the Bangorian controverſy, p. 22.

* 6. A continuation of reflections on Mr. VARILLAS's history of HERESIES; particularly on that which relates to english affairs, in his third and fourth tomes. Amsterdam 1687. 12mo.

7. A relation of the barbarous and bloody MASSACRE of about an hundred thousand protestants, begun at PARIS, and carried on over all FRANCE by the papists in the year 1572. Collected out of MEZERAY, THUANUS, and other approved authors. 1678. 4to.

* 8. The last words of Dr. LEWIS du MOULIN; or his retraction of all the personal reflections he had made on the divines of the church of ENGLAAD. 1680. 4to.

9. Some passages of the life and death of the Right Hon. JOHN WILMOT Earl of ROCHESTER, who died 26 July, 1680, written by his lordship's direction on his death bed. 1680. 8vo.

10. The conversion and persecution of EVE COHAN, now called ELIZABETH VERBOON; a person of quality of the jewish religion. 1680. 4to.

* 11. An account of the confessions of lieutenant JOHN STERN, and GEORGE BOROSKY, executed for the murder of THOMAS THYNN, Esq; 10 March, 168½. 1682. folio.

12. News from FRANCE: in a letter giving a relation of the present state of the difference between the french KING and the court of ROME; to which is added the Pope's brief to the assembly of the clergy, and the protestation made by them in latin, together with an english translation of them. 1682. 4to.

13. The history of the rights of Princes in the disposing of ecclesiastical benefices and church lands; relating chiefly to the pretensions of the crown of FRANCE to the REGALE, and late contests with the court of ROME. To which is added, a collection of letters written upon that occasion: and of some other remarkable papers put in an appendix. 1682. 8vo.

14. An

14. An anſwer to the "animadverſions on the hiſtory of the rights of Princes," &c. 1682. 4to.

15. The life and death of Sir MATTHEW HALE, Knt. ſometime Lord chief juſtice of the king's bench. 1682. 8vo.

There was a ſecond edition of this tract publiſhed in 12mo, 1682. To which were annexed, "additional notes on the life and death of Sir MATTHEW HALE," written by RICHARD BAXTER, at the requeſt of EDWARD STEPHENS, Eſq; the publiſher of his contemplations and his familiar friend.

16. The life of Dr. WILLIAM BEDEL, biſhop of Kilmore in IRELAND; together with the copies of certain letters which paſſed between SPAIN and ENGLAND in matters of religion concerning the general motives to the roman obedience, between Mr. JAMES WADSWORTH, a late penſioner of the holy inquiſition in SEVIL, and the ſaid WILLIAM BEDEL, then miniſter of the goſpel in Suffolk. 1685. 8vo.

17. Three letters in defence of ſome paſſages in the hiſtory of the reformation, in anſwer to the reflections of the reverend Mr. SIMON LOWTH, vicar of Coſmus Blene, in his book of the ſubject of church power. 1685. 4to.

18. (*t*) A letter written to Dr. BURNET, giving ſome account of cardinal POLE's ſecret powers; from which it

(*t*) The letter relating to cardinal POLE, hath been aſcribed to Sir WILLIAM COVENTRY, Knt. youngeſt ſon to THOMAS COVENTRY Lord COVENTRY, Lord keeper of the great ſeal in the reign of King CHARLES the firſt. Of this worthy gentleman the following narrative may be acceptable to the reader. He was appointed ſecretary to the Duke of YORK ſoon after the reſtoration, and alſo ſecretary to the admiralty, and elected burgeſs for Great Yarmouth, in Norfolk, in the parliament which met in May 1661. He was created doctor of the civil law at Oxford 1663; ſworn of the privy council, and received the honour of knighthood, 26 June, 1665; made one of the commiſſioners of the treaſury, 24 May, 1667. See WOOD's Athenæ Oxon. Vol. ii. p. 601. Edit. 1692.

He was, as biſhop BURNET relates, "a man of great notions and eminent virtues; the beſt ſpeaker in the houſe of Commons, and capable of bearing the chief miniſtry, as it was once thought he was very near it, and deſerved it more than all the reſt did. See Collins's peerage of England, Vol. ii. part ii. 8vo. 1735.

appears that it was never intended to confirm the alienation that was made of the abbey lands. To which are added two BREVES that cardinal POLE brought over, and some other of his letters, that were never before printed. 1685. 4to.

19. (*u*) Travels through FRANCE, ITALY, GERMANY and SWITZERLAND; describing their religion, learning, government, customs, natural history, trade, &c. written in letters to the Honourable ROBERT BOYLE, Esq;. To which is added an APPENDIX, containing remarks on SWITZERLAND and ITALY, by a person of quality. 1687. 12mo.

20. A relation of the death of the primitive persecutors. Translated from the latin of LACTANTIUS. With a large preface concerning persecution, in which the principles, the spirit and practice of it are freely censured and condemned. Amsterdam 1687. 8vo.
The second edition was published in London, 1713. 8vo.

21. A letter to Mr. THEVENOT, containing a censure of Mr. le GRAND's history of King HENRY the eighth's divorce. To which is added a censure of Mr. de MEAUX's [JOHN BENIGNE BOSSUET, late bishop of CONDOM] history of the variations of the protestant churches; together with some further reflections on Mr. le GRAND. 1689. 4to.

22. A letter to Dr. WILLIAM LLOYD, Lord bishop of Coventry and Litchfield, concerning a book lately published, called "a specimen of some errors and defects in the history of the reformation of the church of ENGLAND." by ANTHONY HARMER (*w*). 1693. 4to.

(*u*) There have been several editions of this curious and entertaining narrative, the last of which was printed 1750, 12mo. It vastly surpasseth every thing in its kind extant, in the style, sentiments, matter and method. The fine spirit which shineth through it, is admirable. It is likely, that he exerted himself in an extraordinary manner, in the composition, having chosen a person of so eminent a character for his patron. His observations upon the corruptions and impostures of popery must afford peculiar pleasure to every genuine and consistent protestant.

(*w*) The name of ANTHONY HARMER was a fictitious and delusive name, assumed in order to conceal the true author, who was Mr. HENRY WHARTON, chaplain to archbishop SANCROFT.

23. An

23. An eſſay on the memory of Queen MARY. London 1695. 8vo. Edinburgh 1695. 12mo.

24. Reflections on a book, intitled "the rights, powers and privileges of an engliſh convocation ſtated and vindicated," by FRANCIS ATTERBURY, M. A. afterwards biſhop of Rocheſter and dean of Weſtminſter. 1700. 4to.

25. (*x*) The hiſtory of his own time, in two volumes, folio. The firſt publiſhed 1723, the ſecond in 1734. (*y*) To which was added the life of the author by his ſon, THOMAS BURNET, Eſq; ſince one of the juſtices of the court of common pleas; who alſo publiſhed a defence of this hiſtory, in reply to the objections of the Right Hon. GEORGE GRANVILLE Lord LANSDOWN, contained in a pamphlet, intitled, "A letter to the author of the reflections hiſtorical and political."

The Biſhop left finiſhed and prepared for the preſs, a book intitled "ESSAYS and MEDITATIONS on MORALITY and RELIGION;" with directions in his laſt Will that it ſhould be printed, but I cannot find that this order was ever executed.

13 March, 1753. R. F.

(*x*) The author of a paper in HIBERNICUS's letters, &c. written by ſeveral eminent hands in DUBLIN, ſtiles this "an incomparable hiſtory, which for its noble impartiality and ſincerity never was equalled but by POLYBIUS and PHILIP de COMINES: a hiſtory which hath received the beſt teſtimony of its worth from the mouth of its enemies, by giving equal eſſence to the bigotted and intereſted of all parties, ſects and denominations, amongſt us. A hiſtory, which doth honour to the language it is writ in, and will for ever make the name of BURNET ſacred and venerable to all, who prefer an empire of reaſon and laws to that of blind paſſion and unbridled will and pleaſure." See HIBERNICUS's letters, Vol. i. Numb. xxiii.

(*y*) The concluſion of this hiſtory, which is addreſſed to men of all orders and degrees, hath been publiſhed in ſmall 12mo. that it may circulate into the hands of numbers of perſons whom the hiſtory itſelf might never reach. It is, as the Biſhop himſelf obſerveth, "a ſort of teſtament or dying ſpeech, which, ſaith he, I leave behind me to be read and conſidered when I can ſpeak no more." The alarming important truths contained in it, are expreſſed in ſuch a propriety and energy of ſtyle, and ſo ſolemnly laid home to the conſciences of men, that they are admirably calculated and adapted to awaken in the riſing generation, a ſtrong and lively ſenſe of religion, virtue and public ſpirit.

In St. James's church, Clerkenwell, is a fair marble monupediment, which is circular, is ſupported by pilaſters of the the center are the arms of the See of Saliſbury and BURNET, books and rolls; amongſt which is one intitled, HIST. REFORM.

INSCRIPTION.

H. S. E.
GILBERTUS BURNET, S. T. P.
Epiſcopus SARISBURIENSIS
Et nobiliſſimi Ordinis à Periſcelide CANCELLARIUS
Natus EDINBURGI, 18 die Septembris Anno Domini MDCXLIII.
Parentibus ROBERTO BURNET, Domino de CREMONT,
Ex antiquiſſima domo de LEYES, et RACHELE JOHNSTON,
Sorore Domini de WARISTOUN
ABERDONIAE Literis inſtructus SALTONI curae animarum invigilavit,
Inde Juvenis adhuc Sacro-Sanctae Theologiae Profeſſor in
Academia GLASGOENSI electus eſt.
Poſtquam in ANGLIAM tranſiit rem ſacram per aliquot
Annos Templo Rotulorum LONDINI adminiſtravit, donec
nimis acriter (ut iis qui rerum tum potiebantur viſum eſt)
Eccleſiae Romanae malas artes inſectatus, ab officio ſubmotus eſt.
E patria, temporum iniquitate profugus, EUROPAM peragravit.
Et deinceps cum Principe AURIACO reverſus, primus omnium
a Rege GULIELMO et Regina MARIA Praeſul deſignatus,
et in ſummum tandem fiduciae teſtimonium ab eodem
Principe Duci GLOCESTRIENSI Praeceptor dictus eſt.

Tyrannidi et Superſtitioni ſemper infenſum ſcripta eruditiſſima
Demonſtrant, nec non Libertatis Patriae veraeque Religionis
ſtrenuum ſemperque indefeſſum Propugnatorem. Quarum
utriuſque conſervandae ſpem unam jam à longo tempore in
Illuſtriſſima Domo BRUNSVICENSI collocârat. Poſtquam
autem Dei Providentia ſingulari Regem GEORGIUM,
Sceptro BRITANNO potitum conſpexerat; brevi jam
Annorum et felicitatis ſatur è vivis exceſſit.

Duxit Uxorem Dominam MARGARITAM KENNEDY Comitis
CASSILIAE filiam, dein MARIAM SCOT HAGAE COMITIS, quae ei
Septem liberos peperit, quorum adhuc in vivis ſunt
GULIELMUS, GILBERTUS, MARIA, ELIZABETHA et THOMAS.
Poſtremo Uxorem duxit viduam ELIZABETHAM BERKELEY
qua duos liberos ſuſcepit, fato praematuro non multo poſt extinctos,
Ampliſſimam pecuniam in pauperibus alendis, et in ſumptibus ſed
ad utilitatem publicam ſpectantibus, vivus continuo erogavit, moriens
Duo millia Aureorum ABERDONIAE SALTONOQUE ad Juventutem pauperiorem
inſtituendam Teſtamento legavit.
Obiit 17 Die Martii, Anno Domini MDCCXIV-XV. Ætatis LXXII.

ment, erected to the memory of biſhop BURNET. The compoſite order, on the extremities of which are urns, and in impaled in a ſhield; on the freeze are cut in RELIEVO ſeveral and on the tablet underneath is this

Here lies interred
GILBERT BURNET, Doctor in Divinity,
Biſhop of SALISBURY,
and CHANCELLOR of the moſt noble Order of the Garter.
Born at EDINEURGH the 18th of September A. D. MDCXLIII.
His Parents were ROBERT BURNET, Laird of CREMONT,
deſcended from the moſt ancient Family of LEYES, and RACHEL JOHNSTON,
Siſter to the Lord of WARISTOUN.
Having ſtudied at ABERDEEN he entered on the cure of ſouls at SALTON,
And though as yet a young man, he was choſen Divinity Profeſſor
in the Univerſity of GLASGOW.
From hence he paſſed into ENGLAND, where he performed the duties
Of the miniſterial office for ſeveral years in the Rolls chapel in LONDON,
Till for inveighing too ſharply (in the opinion of thoſe who were then at the head of affairs)
Againſt the impious Frauds of the church of ROME,
He was ſuſpended from his office, and being forced to fly his country,
By the iniquity of the times, he made a Tour through EUROPE,
And afterwards returning with the Prince of ORANGE, he was
the firſt Biſhop nominated by King WILLIAM and Queen MARY;
And which was the higheſt mark of Confidence, was, at length by the ſame Prince
made Preceptor to the Duke of GLOUCESTER.
His moſt learned Writings demonſtrate that he was a declared Enemy
to Tyranny and Superſtition; and that he was always
a ſtrenuous indefatigable Advocate for the Liberty of his Country and the true Religion;
For the Preſervation of each of which he had for a long time before
placed his only hopes in the moſt illuſtrious Family of BRUNSWICK:
And, after by the ſpecial Providence of GOD, he had ſeen King GEORGE
in the Poſſeſſion of the Britiſh ſceptre, he ſoon departed this Life,
having attained the ſummit of his wiſhes with regard to length of days and earthly happineſs.
He married firſt the Lady MARGARET KENNEDY, daughter
of the Earl of CASSILS, and afterwards MARY SCOT of the HAGUE,
who bore him ſeven children, of whom
WILLIAM, GILBERT, MARY, ELIZABETH, and THOMAS are ſtill living.
Laſtly, he married ELIZABETH BERKELEY, a widow,
By whom he had two children, which were ſnatched away in their Infancy.
While he lived, he was continually beſtowing conſiderable ſums of money
in relieving the Poor, and in other expences conducing to the public Benefit;
And at his death he left a Legacy of two thouſand Pounds
for the Inſtruction of poor children and young perſons at ABERDEEN and SALTON.
He died the 17th of March, A D. MDCCXIV-XV, in the ſeventy ſecond
Year of his Age.

POSTSCRIPT.

SINCE the foregoing papers were ſent to the preſs, the reverend Mr. SAMPSON LETSOME hath publiſhed an uſeful performance, intitled, "The PREACHER'S ASSISTANT, in two parts."

In reviewing the account of biſhop BURNET's ſermons contained in "this work," it appeareth, that Mr. LETSOME hath aſcribed to him two funeral ſermons: 1. on Epheſ. v. 16. 1678. 4to. 2. On 2 Tim. i. 6. 1689. 4to. But I apprehend there is ſome miſtake in this aſcription. It is certain, that neither of theſe ſermons is included in the collection of ſermons and diſcourſes, written and printed in the years 1677—1704, publiſhed by the biſhop's direction in 1704, in three volumes, 4to. And I am the more confirmed in this ſentiment, by obſerving, that Mr. LETSOME hath not referred to any library, as containing the ſaid ſermons, nor produced any other authentic evidence in ſupport of his aſcribing them to the biſhop.

The like miſtake may be obſerved in another work of the ſame nature with Mr. LETSOME's, intitled, "An INDEX to the ſermons publiſhed ſince the Reſtoration, in two parts; the firſt printed in 1734, the ſecond in 1738; ſince reprinted together in one volume, with conſiderable additions and improvements, 1751.

N. B. In drawing up the preceding account of the numerous writings of the late eminent and worthy prelate, the greateſt diligence and application have been exerted in order to procure ſuch authentic intelligence, as might render it complete and accurate. But amidſt a great variety of ſmall tracts written and printed ſeparately, at very different times, and at a period very diſtant from the preſent, it is not improbable, but that ſome of thoſe leſſer pieces may have eſcaped the obſervation of the compiler. The diſcovery and correction of any errors or defects of this kind, communicated to Mr. MILLAR in the Strand, will be gratefully acknowledged as a particular favour.

26 March, 1753.

AN

AN INDEX TO THE FOUR VOLUMES of this HISTORY.

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